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# GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

GEORGE GUNTON, EDITOR

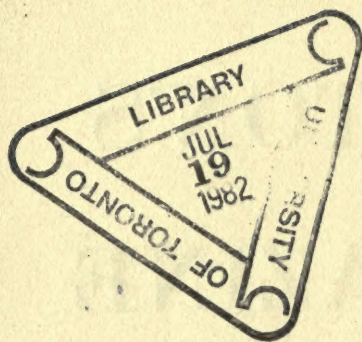
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## GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

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### "PRINCIPLE" OF THE OPEN SHOP

"PRINCIPLE" and "liberty" are fascinating words, but, like religion, they have many meanings. They are so pleasing to the public ear that they are freely used in the advocacy of every cause. The Tsar and his ministers, who hang hundreds of persons in a single day without trial, and bury them by moon-light, talk of "principle" and "liberty" with as much zeal as would the advocates of democracy and equal rights. Nor is this necessarily an evidence of insincerity. People generally think through their interests, not always their individual interest, but through the interests of their social, economic, or political group. The meaning, therefore, of such phrases as "principle" and "liberty" is mainly a matter of interpretation, which depends very largely on the point of view.

When the English middle class wanted the franchise, they became the exponents of the principle of political liberty and democratic representation. Their arguments read very much like the Declaration of Independence; but after they had acquired the suffrage (by the passage of the First Reform Bill) their point of view changed. When the laborers asked for the suffrage, the middle class opposed it on the principle of property rights with as much vigor as their own enfranchisement had been opposed by the aristocracy. Their point of view had changed with the shifting of their interests.

This is as true in the field of economics as in politics and government. Under the leadership of John Bright and Richard Cobden, the English Liberals were the bitterest



enemies of the Factory Acts, the most beneficent legislation of the nineteenth century. These very good men opposed, and for many years retarded, the legal limitation of the working day for children in factories as a matter of principle, and in the interests of personal liberty. It interfered with the personal liberty of English manufacturers, who could take children from the poor-house and work them in the factories without limit as to age or hours. The fact that this dwarfed the children, developed decrepitude, ignorance, and a multitude of physical diseases and social vices mattered not. It was a violation of the employer's liberty to conduct his business in his own way, pay such wages and furnish such conditions and make such requirements as he pleased. Men like Richard Cobden and John Bright, and the multitude of really noble men who preached their gospel, were not heartless humbugs; but they honestly advocated what to them was a political principle, the right of every man to do exactly what he pleased with himself and his own. But they interpreted this principle from the point of view of the English manufacturer's interests. They might sympathize with the poor, but any interference to furnish protection against the consequence of these conditions was a violation of human rights, and, therefore, not to be tolerated.

The fallacy of this interpretation of "principle" and "liberty" gradually became clear to society. The interests of civilization demanded that society should impose a limit upon the exactions of manufacturers upon the working women and children. Parliament finally said to the factory masters: You shall not employ children under thirteen years of age more than half a day at a time, and only then on condition that they go to school the other half; and you shall not employ minors and women at night; and you shall not employ women and children continuously more than sixty hours a week.



The hovels in which these working people had been herded were so injurious to health and morals as to be well-nigh pestilential; and the so-called "freedom" was again encroached upon by Parliament by forbidding the use of basements as dwellings and prescribing certain sanitary conditions in houses before laborers were permitted to live in them. This compelled the manufacturers to spend more money on houses for their laborers, and was resented, of course, as an encroachment on their liberty. All this has finally received the endorsement of science and civilization and has proved to be not only consistent with, but an essential part of, the conditions of personal liberty. The fundamental principle of freedom is not that each one should do as he pleases with his own, but that he shall so conduct himself and use his own as not to injure the interests and opportunities of others. The idea that an employer can run his factory as he pleases, when he pleases, and under such sanitary conditions as he pleases, and may treat his laborers as he pleases, is a false notion of freedom. Of course, the English manufacturers did not see this; they were not tyrants, but they acted like tyrants. Their seemingly oppressive and heartless attitude was due entirely to their point of view, they interpreted the principle of personal liberty through their own interests.

Experience, economic science, and social and political philosophy all show that this standard of interpretation of social principle and personal liberty is narrow. The only point of view from which economic and social law and the principle of liberty can be properly interpreted is from the view-point of society. From no other can be seen the interests of all the contending groups. Any interpretation of economic and political principle that excludes a large class of the community, is sure to react on the class in whose interest the restrictive policy is adopted. Thus, for example, any policy based on the interests of employers to the ex-



clusion of the interests of the laborers, must ultimately react to the detriment of the employing class, because, in modern society, the success of business enterprise largely depends upon the welfare of the masses. Anything that hinders the material progress of the mass of wage-earners, is in the nature of things detrimental to the business interests of employers, as reducing the laborers' power to consume destroys the very market upon which the prosperity of employers depend. And, conversely, any policy that injures the profit-making opportunity of capital necessarily reacts upon labor, as destroying the opportunity for profitable enterprise lessens the possibility of employment and makes increasing wages and improved conditions for labor impossible.

The point of view then, from which the open shop question, like all other questions of modern industry, must finally be settled is not alone the interests of laborers, nor the convenience of employers, but the interests of society, which include the interest and welfare of both. No mere abstract proposition regarding freedom is adequate for dealing with the situation. It is a practical proposition that has to do with the daily interests of the laborers on the one hand and the successful management of business on the other. Any adequate consideration of the subject must reckon with the prejudices as well as with the interests and rights of both sides, and no other question of practical economics is more weighted down with prejudice. On the employer's side, there is the prejudice against unions. True, the right of laborers to organize is conceded as a theory, but practically it is denied. No solution of this question can be permanent that does not admit with equal frankness, the laborers' right to organize and to act through their organizations, and the capitalists' right to organize and act through their organizations. To dispute this right to either group is to beg the question under consideration.



There is not power enough in the courts and government to stop either labor or capital from organizing, for the obvious reason that organization is the inevitable consequence of the natural development of industrial society. Railing against "trusts" may furnish food for a political campaign, but it must ultimately be futile in suppressing corporate development, unless it succeeds in arresting the progress of society. Employers and editors might just as well recognize, once for all, that the task of suppressing labor-unions or preventing them from acting as the bargain-makers for labor is as futile as the fantastical effort to suppress corporations.

This much granted (and without it nothing is worth considering), the question is—does the recognition of unions logically involve the closed shop, and does the open shop logically involve the denial of the right of unions to act for organized labor? In discussing "the open shop principle" the "Journal of Commerce" quotes from the declaration of the National Association of Clothing Manufacturers, "The closed shop is an un-American institution. The right of every man to sell his labor as he sees fit, and the freedom of every employer to hire such labor, are given by the laws of the land." It then quotes President Eliot of Harvard as saying: "The surrender of personal freedom to an association is almost as great an obstacle to happiness as its loss to a despot or to a ruling class, especially if membership in the association is compelled and the association touches livelihood." The Journal devotes the remainder of its editorial to glorifying and sustaining this declaration:

The labor-unions, so far as they insist upon the "closed shop" as a principle, constitute a class representing certain industries, mostly mechanical, which arrogates to itself the power, denied to the law and the Government in every free country. . . . The open shop means the right of men to work at their trade without joining a union if they so prefer, and the right to hire men whether they belong to a union or



not and to give them an equal chance. These rights are fundamental in a land of liberty and law, and their denial is the principle of despotism and not of freedom. Leaders of labor-unions fear this kind of liberty as destructive of their organization, just as despotic governments fear personal freedom as destructive of their system.

This is anti-union pleading, not open shop reasoning. It is talking in the abstract, and fails to state the case as it is. The unions can make a statement equally plausible in favor of the closed shop, which the open shop advocates would reject as wholly inadequate because of what lurks behind it. Men like President Eliot of Harvard really believe in freedom, but they are so unfamiliar with the actual working of shop conditions and the real attitude of many employers toward unions, that their reasoning relates to conditions that do not exist. President Eliot is talking of a world in which nobody lives.

To quote the Clothing Manufacturers' declaration that the "closed shop is an un-American institution" is like quoting the Tsar on political freedom.

The clothing manufacturers of this country are pre-eminently those in whose hands the open shop would mean no union. They are the class of manufacturers that represents the sweat-shops in our large cities, against which the union shop is the only effective weapon. No other single force has done so much to compel decency and a modicum of economic fairness in the clothing business as the union. It is well known to the sweat-shop workers and to all who have investigated the conditions of clothing manufacture that, as a class, the clothing manufacturers have introduced economic conditions that are a disgrace to American industry. It is only by desperate "closed shop" efforts, aided by drastic legislation, that the sweat-shops in our large cities are prevented from being pestilential dens. For years they have been the collectors of the ignorant, squalor-ridden outcasts from Europe. Through a system of contractors, sub-contractors, and employment



agents, they have taken the ignorant, poverty-stricken immigrants, whom they have been the means of bringing to this country, and used them like slaves, converting so-called homes into pest-houses, often crowding from ten to twenty persons in a single room, where they eat, sleep, and work. This system has invaded the large cities of both Europe and this country. The only force that has succeeded in partly breaking down this uncivilized, unsanitary, and inhuman, as well as un-American, system has been the indefatigable efforts of the trade-union. To refer, therefore, to the clothing manufacturers' high sounding declaration about "freedom" and "un-American" institutions is to flaunt mockery and sham in the faces of the laborers and of the public.

It is just such things that arouse the suspicion of the working men against the good faith of the plea for the open shop. Knowing the history and character of clothing manufacturers from bitter experience, the Garment Makers' Union distrusts every such sounding phrase as a platitude, and goes to the other extreme. Thus, in a recent article on "The Open Shop in a Nutshell," the editor of the "Weekly Bulletin of the Clothing Trades" says: "The very argument advanced by the employer in favor of the open shop is the strongest reason for the workmen to oppose it. The principle in the abstract means nothing; the conditions under which it is applied mean everything. We are concerned with the liberty that results from certain conditions rather than nominal liberty."

It is true all trades are not as bad off as the clothing trade; all employers are not like sweat-shop manufacturers. The working men can not be expected to look with much confidence or respect upon reasoning of that kind, especially from that source; and when such respectable publications as the "Journal of Commerce" and such honored educators as President Eliot reason in the same way, and declare the union's "opposition to the open shop based only on the



distrust of real freedom," they misrepresent the case and aggravate, rather than help to solve, the problem.

On the other hand, for labor leaders to declare that the very fact that employers are in favor of the open shop is the strongest reason for workmen to oppose it, is an equally perverse presentation of the case. It may be true of clothing manufacturers and of some few mean employers, but it is not true of the largest and best employers in the country, and it is untrue as a general argument. As a matter of fact, the unionists can not deny that the closed shop is frequently used as a means of unjustifiable despotism. Take the recent case of the strike of the freight handlers on the Fall River Line. That strike was to force the discharge of an old employe because he did not join the union. There is no evidence that he did anything amiss, but, as in the case of the government printing office, the strikers simply demanded that he should join the union or be discharged. There may be individual cases where the men are justified in refusing to work with an objectionable person. A spy and a tattler, who devotes himself to carrying tales and injuring the men, is an object of contempt; and it is not unreasonable for workmen to refuse to associate with him. But to insist that no man shall be permitted to work, unless he joins the union, could not be endured as a general policy.

This is not a mere abstract principle, but is a practical proposition. Nor is it feasible, as a working rule in any business, that the union shall control the employment and discharge of men, or the actions of the foreman. Yet, where the closed shop prevails, it is not uncommon to find that they demand that the foreman shall be a member of the union, in some cases that he be appointed by the union. This is taking the management of the business out of the hands of the owner and placing it in the hands of the laborers, which is an impossible policy. It might work in



a few instances, but it could never endure as a general policy. It is the abuse of this shop authority that has led to the opposition to the closed shop and the general demand among employers for the open shop. Hitherto there have been too many Sam Parks in the closed shops. They may not have demanded blackmail in the same bold fashion, but they have used their authority in a similar dictatorial, uneconomic, and often corrupt manner. This is natural. Laborers are human, and can not be trusted with absolute power. They are like politicians; when they get power, they use it in an arbitrary, and frequently in a corrupt manner. The only way to prevent labor leaders from becoming corruptionists and dictatorial "bosses" and blackmailers is to prevent them from having power. Reformers are usually generous and altruistic when under the spell of the reforming spirit; but when they become possessed of arbitrary power they become despots. Freedom can be maintained only by making despotism impossible. Now, the closed shop, in the sense of handing over to the union the absolute power to compel every worker to belong to the union, must, in the nature of things, soon take on the despotic, coercive form. As despots, laborers are just as big tyrants as capitalists. It is only a question of having the power.

On the other hand, the laborers can present some strong reasons for opposing the open shop. They argue, from experience, that if non-union laborers are permitted to work alongside of union laborers, the employers will discriminate against the union men for the sole purpose of breaking the power of the union. Thus, in every possible case, union men will be discharged and non-union men employed, and so finally make the union a disadvantage. In an article on this subject, Henry White states the case of a delegate to the convention of the Citizens' Industrial Association at Chicago last year, who said: "A year or so before the formation of the Alliance, I had 297 union men. Now I



have 6. And before long I hope to have, not an open shop, but a closed shop—closed against the union.” With this spirit and practise among employers, the laborers’ only defense is the closed shop. This kind of warfare makes some kind of closed shop unavoidable—closed against non-union men, or closed against union men.

The employers are justified in regarding the closed or union shop, as at present conducted, as something to be resisted, and the laborers might as well recognize the fact that it will be resisted. On the other hand, so long as employers use the open shop merely to make a closed shop against unions, they may take it for granted that they will have a fight on their hands. The closed shop against union men is as impossible as is the closed shop against non-union men. Unions are as inevitable as corporations, and the true way to avoid the tyranny of the closed shop is to deal with the unions in good faith. Yet, so long as the unions insist upon dictating the management of the business affairs of the employer and coercing men into their union, they will receive the opposition of employers and distrust of the public.

As already remarked, this is not an abstract, but a practical question. All practical questions, if properly solved, must be solved consistently with sound principle. The principle involved in this question is one of freedom—not the freedom of the employer to do as he likes with his own and conduct his shop just as he pleases, regardless of the interests of the laborers or the public; nor the freedom of the union to do just what it pleases, merely because it has the power, regardless of the interest of non-unionists or the employers. The principle of liberty involved here is the same as that which underlies all free society—that the employers must have the liberty to organize their industry and conduct their business consistently with the rights of other people. So far as the general conditions of the work-



shop are concerned, it is a matter of public interest that they should not be inimical to the health, morality, and welfare of those employed. So far as buying their material, selling their products, hiring their labor, and organizing their industry, and, in short, managing their business, are concerned, they must have the liberty to do it un-coerced.

The laborers must have the same liberty to deal with their side of the problem. The laborers' side of the problem is to contract for the sale of their services and the personal treatment by the employers. In doing this they must have the same freedom to act individually or collectively as they have to buy hats or to cast their ballots on election day. In organizing for that purpose, they must be under no actual or implied disadvantage. So long as this right is interfered with, directly or indirectly, the laborer's freedom is interfered with he is coerced, and a state of distrust and war may be expected.

In forming organizations and conducting them, the laborers have absolutely no right to use any other than moral force. To use coercion to build up an organization is as indefensible as it is to use coercion or corruption in politics. It is useless for anybody to deny that unions use coercion, because it is well known that they do; and before they can hope to get the fair treatment and full recognition they demand, they must give up coercive methods as a means of organizing their unions and enforcing their demands. There is no economic or moral objection to the union shop, provided the method of unionizing the shop is free from coercion. For instance, if all the laborers in a factory were willing to join the union there could be no economic moral reason for objecting; but if a laborer is tired of the union, or fails to pay his dues, or for any other reason declines to be a member, there is no principle of economics, ethics, or expediency that justifies the union in forcing him back into its ranks. To inaugurate a strike to



compel his discharge, is despotic and brutal and will never be approved by the public or tolerated by employers. Union membership must be voluntary. There should be as much freedom to join and leave as there is in the membership of a church or of a social club.

Whenever a union is established in a shop, it should be recognized by the employers in all cases of bargaining about wages, or other interests of the laborers. If a dispute arises, a representative of the union should be recognized as spokesman for all those who belong to the union. If the non-union laborers do not agree with the position of the union, they can be dealt with accordingly. In the case of a strike, the union men have the right to be governed by the vote of their union to work or quit as the case may be. The right to strike is as sacred as the right to think, to speak, or to vote. If those not in the union do not agree with the decision and refuse to go out, which is very seldom, of course, they must be left free to act on their own decision, with the same freedom that the union has. In most cases, the union will be right in its demands, especially if no unprincipled walking-delegate has the power to decide the matter, and perhaps ninety per cent. of non-union men will agree with them, as they nearly always do. In such case, the union men must not be discriminated against, if the struggle is lost, or because they were more active in making the demands.

Here is where much of the evil really arises. The employers have all too frequently discriminated against those who make the demands, refusing to take them back. They do this on the plea that they have the right to employ whom they please, which is true; but so long as they make membership in a union or prominence in presenting demands an offense, the union has a plausible reason for adopting means of protecting its members. If union men are to be discriminated against in favor of non-union men, it is only



human that they should have recourse to similar unfair means to make non-union men impossible.

All considerations of economic justice and of personal freedom for employers to conduct their business, and for laborers to defend their rights, demand that the open shop shall be maintained. If employers want the open shop, they must treat the unions honorably and fairly and in good faith; and if the unions want such recognition, they must establish voluntary membership in organizations. So long as employers discriminate against unions, the closed shop will be demanded; and so long as unions use coercion to build up their organizations, the open shop will be demanded and the union distrusted.

While the open shop is obviously a practical question, it must ultimately be solved on a basis consistent with the principle of personal liberty for all—liberty of union men to act through their union without hindrance or discrimination, liberty for non-union men to act individually without hindrance or discrimination, and the liberty of employers to organize, and conduct the management of their business without interference. So long as these rights are denied, and either side insists on dictating to the other, the war of the open against the closed shop will continue.



## IS THERE A LIMIT TO RISING WAGES?

THE FOLLOWING letter, making a very important inquiry, has been received:

Dear Mr. Gunton: Has not the continual and increasing pressure for increased compensation for the laboring community reached the point of producing damaging results? In England, the great cotton industry of Lancashire is running substantially without profit, and with little hope for future profit on the part of manufacturers, because, first, of the continuous pressure for increased wages; and, second, because of the resistance to the introduction of improvements that would leave a larger margin from which such increased wages can be paid.

The same is true here in certain lines, one of which is the boot and shoe industry in this section. In this town, which was formerly a center for this industry, substantially all the old concerns have gone out of business, and those that are left are pretty nearly running without profit, or even interest on their capital.

In the building line, new enterprises are checked, and would show an even worse condition of affairs were it not for governmental expenditures.

Now, I am a believer in high wages, as high as can be paid and maintain flourishing business. The question that I wish to ask is what, in your view, is the proper limit to wage-increase? One limit, of course, is the entire amount of production above cost of material, divided by the number of laborers. Is there any other limit short of that that you think can be properly maintained—a point where an employer would do wrong to the community, as well as himself, if he did not refuse to make further concession?

I presume you have thought this all over; somebody needs to do so. I am not speaking individually. I can regulate my individual affairs according to my own judgment or go out of business; but there are general considerations which it seems to me can be stated to advantage.

AN EMPLOYER.

The above letter is from a large manufacturer, the largest in the country in his line. He is not an enemy to labor-unions. On the contrary, he is friendly to every movement for the improved condition of the wage-worker and is



altogether one of the most broad minded, liberal employers in the United States. He has had conspicuous success in his business, has acquired a fortune, and can safely retire without financial injury. It is fair to assume, therefore, that his question is asked from the point of view of the student he is of the larger economic problem as affecting the development of business and the welfare of the masses. From any other point of view it would not be worth considering.

Of course, a large number of employers feel that every increase of wages is an injury, because it personally affects them adversely by temporarily lessening their profits. For this reason, there is always a general reluctance on the part of employers to increase wages. In the nature of things, it could hardly be otherwise. It might happen in a given case that an increase of wages would take more than all the profits, which, if not reimbursed by some means, would necessarily lead to failure, and yet the increase of wages might be thoroughly justifiable.

The limit of the general advance of wages can not be fixed by the condition of any given individual employer. While the adjustment of the wage-scale must be an individual matter with each employer and the specific laborers involved. The benefit or injury of a general increase of wages is a social question, and must be judged by its effect on the general welfare of the community. As a general proposition, it is true that the increase of wages is the sure indication of an improved social condition of the masses, and, since the laboring masses constitute seven-tenths of the community, whatever promotes their welfare is beneficial to the nation. Another proposition is equally true; namely, that the success and prosperity of the employing class really rests upon the welfare of the masses. All business is conducted for profit; but no business can be profitable that does not have an adequate market for its



wares; and the great market that furnishes a profitable basis for modern industry is the normal consumption maintained by the standard of living of the masses. It is because the standard of living and *per capita* consumption of the masses (rate of wages) in this country is so high that the American market is the market which all other nations are so eager to obtain.

Another general fact, scarcely less significant, is that it is essential to the progress of a nation that the productive instruments of the country should constantly undergo scientific improvement. This means that a part of the surplus profits of the nation must be devoted to experimentation and reinvestment in improved machinery and methods of production. It may be laid down as an indisputable economic proposition, that the progress of the world consists in the increased production of economic surplus. The increase in the total wealth produced, over the amount expended in the process of production is the only real addition to a nation's wealth. If the methods of production in any country are such that the wages, wear and tear of machinery, and so on, consume the entire product, there will be no economic surplus and, therefore, no progress. Under those conditions, nobody could have more next year than he had this year or last year, without somebody having less; hence wages can not be raised, the income of no class be increased, and the conditions of general welfare can not be advanced. In countries where the methods of production most nearly approximate to hand labor and are most uniform, this condition most nearly exists, and progress is correspondingly slow. Economic surplus, under whatever name it may be called, is largest in those industries and countries where the methods of production are most frequently improved, where, by new devices, nature is made to yield a larger amount of wealth for the same expenditure of capital and labor. Consequently, in those



countries where machinery, invention, and economic experimentation is very slight, as in India and China, the surplus is very small, the increased welfare of the community is meager, and progress is hardly perceptible. In countries where large investments of capital and improved methods of production are most general, and economic experimentation is most frequent and persistent, the economic surplus is largest, and the industrial and social progress the greatest—as in this country and in England.

The two great factors, then, in industrial and social progress are wages and capital. Wages furnish the market demand, and capital the tools of supply. Manifestly, these two factors are closely interdependent. Any injury to the wage-income directly affects the market demand, which immediately undermines the source of profitable supply. Since the market demand is the very life of profitable production and business success, anything that injures the permanence or extent of that market demand injures the profitable employment of capital; and, conversely, anything that injures the profitable employment of capital destroys the very source of wage-increase. If capital could prevent (but it can not) any of the increase or surplus product from going to wages, it would soon destroy the source of its own prosperity; and if labor could prevent (but it can not) any of the surplus going to capital, it would destroy the source of wage-increase. Progress, therefore, can continue only so long as the surplus is divided.

It is one of the fallacies of socialism, tactitly believed by many who are not consciously socialists, that all profits are the products of labor and should go to the laborers; and to the extent that they are diverted to anybody else the laborers are robbed. This proposition is essentially false, and if adopted would be socially disastrous. The truth is labor produces very little, if any, more than it did five hundred years ago. Nearly all the increased pro-



duction of modern times, which is the very basis of modern progress, is due to the improved devices supplied by capital. Labor is, always has been, and in the nature of things always must be, human energy, and nothing else. The productive capacity of labor reaches its maximum in the highest development of hand-labor dexterity. It has perhaps reached its highest point of development in China and Japan. Laborers do not work as hard, nor as long, nor contribute proportionately one-fiftieth as much to the aggregate production today, as they did in the fourteenth century. Nor do the laborers of England or the United States produce nearly so great a proportion of the total product as do the laborers in Asia. The obvious reason is that in Asia, as in Europe in the Middle Ages, laborers furnish nearly all the productive power that is employed. In this country and England a very large proportion of the productive power is furnished by machinery, and, consequently, the production *per capita* is many times greater than in Asia. This is not because the laborers work harder or longer, but because they supply a much smaller proportion of the productive power. It can not be true, then, that labor produces all the wealth; and the deduction that all the wealth belongs to labor is false.

If the proposition, that all wealth ethically belongs to labor, were accepted and acted upon, all progress would at once be stopped. It is absolutely necessary to progress that a part of the surplus be diverted to capital and productive uses. But it is neither economically nor morally true that all the surplus belongs to labor. On the contrary, it is nearly all created by capital. Nearly all the surplus diverted to labor is a net gain to the social welfare of the labor class, due not to its own improved ingenuity or increased efficiency or harder work, but to the scientific development of the forces of civilization, to which laborers almost never consciously contribute, but usually oppose.



Nearly every improvement in machinery and method of organization has been resisted by labor. It is only very recently that trade-unions have recognized tacitly that opposition to new machinery must be abandoned; but it is not yet abandoned in many industries. Besides being supplied by capital, the new machinery must be introduced in spite of the opposition of labor. If progress is to continue, the surplus product can not all go to labor. It is better for labor and better for society, and essential to progress, that a part of the surplus go to capital.

Moreover, regardless of the consequence to labor, society, or civilization, capital would absolutely refuse to contribute to human welfare unless it were allowed to enjoy a portion of the surplus. Profit is the only stimulant that will induce capital to enter the field of risk and enterprise. Deprive it of all surplus, and economic experimentation and capitalistic investment will cease, and progress will come to an end.

Since the increase of wages is both a source and evidence of social advancement, since a surplus is indispensable to industrial progress, and since every advance of wages is a transfer of so much of the surplus from capital to labor; at what point does the increase of wages become an injury to industry? This is the essence of the question that our correspondent asks.

As the wage-increase is an addition to the social welfare of the masses and an increase in the market demand for production, it should continue just so long as it is compatible with productive improvement. It will be compatible with productive improvement so long as the growing demand for products furnishes a surplus adequate to meet the risks and supply the capital for experimentation and re-investment. So long as this continues, it is wholesome. It is even a stimulant to progress to have the wage-demand press upon the surplus. If there were no pressure upon the



surplus of capital and a liberal margin was entirely secure, there would be no motive for new experiments and the development of improved machinery. It is largely because margins are diminished by the pressure of rising wages and competition among producers that improved methods are necessary. It is this force more than any other that has caused the immense improvement in machinery and organization and re-organization of capital during the last fifty years.

But where should this pressure of wage-demand cease? Should it be wherever the profit margin disappears? Hardly. If this were the established rule, the demand for increased wages could never be sustained, because there are always some concerns whose profits are at the vanishing point. The cotton industry in Lancashire, referred to by our correspondent, is a case in point; but very much of this is due to the fact that the English cotton manufacturers, through prejudice and old-fashioned methods, and partly through the opposition of the laborers to new devices, are refusing to use the best machinery. For instance, in this country we have developed looms for weaving cotton that reduce the cost of weaving fifty per cent., without reducing wages. The Draper or Lothrop loom, with its nearly automatic appliances of supplying weft without stopping the loom, and its warp-stop motion, which prevents any bad breakage in the warp, enables an ordinary weaver to mind from sixteen to twenty looms with no more effort than is necessary to mind five or six in Lancashire. Yet, through the prejudice in favor of old-fashioned methods, or perhaps lack of capital on the part of the manufacturers and prejudice against new machinery on the part of the unions, the Lancashire manufacturers have thus far refused to adopt the new machines. It might perhaps require a larger investment than individual concerns are prepared to supply; but the remedy for this is larger aggregation of capital. If they



will not do this, or are incapable of doing it, their diminishing profit is no justification for resting wage-increase. Of course, if the laborers refuse to use the new machines, they have no right to demand higher wages, since they oppose the very methods that would increase the surplus and make higher wages possible without injury to capital. If capitalists, from economic timidity, lack of capital, or incompetent management, are unable to utilize the methods science has supplied for increasing the margins, they have no economic right to resist the normal demand for wage-increase. If the demand for higher wages drives them out of business, it is best for society that they should give place to others who have the requisite enterprise and capital to utilize the best machinery and methods that civilization affords. It is a sound principle in economics that no business enterprise that fails to use the most modern methods and tries to save its surplus by restricting wages is worth sustaining.

What is true of the cotton industry of Lancashire is true of some concerns in New England. Like the Lancashire manufacturers, they lack either the courage, enterprise, or capital to adopt the new machinery; and when competition presses upon their margin they cry out for lower wages or against the normal increase of wages. The reason given for reducing wages in the New England cotton mills is that Southern competition is too sharp. The chief element in Southern competition is the use of the latest improved machinery, which these New England manufacturers persistently fail to adopt. Paying the same wages, the Southern manufacturers, with their improved machinery, can get their weaving done for one-half less than the New England manufacturers. There is no economic nor ethical reason why the unavoidable decline in profits in New England, under such conditions, should be recouped from wages.

Nor is it by the individual concerns that the economic de-



mand for wage-increase can be determined. Wages are subject to the same general law as are all prices. The manufacturers of cotton cloth, for instance, who make a given quality of product can all get the same price in New York or any other general competing market. They may all have different margins or profits according to their different degrees of efficiency in management, machinery, or other conditions; but they all get substantially the same price for their goods.

The same is true of labor. Weavers and spinners in the same community must have the same general price for their work. If it be twenty cents in Fall River, Lawrence, Lowell, or Cohoes, then it will be twenty cents throughout the Eastern States where the same general conditions and standard and cost of living prevail. In the South, where a different standard and cost of living and social conditions prevail, a different wage-rate may be established; but there, too, it will be substantially uniform, in accordance with the same economic law.

Where then, shall the line be drawn for wage-increase? Clearly, it can not be drawn at the profits of an inferior manufacturer, who fails to use the best methods available. The increase of wages is more important to the community than the existence of such a manufacturer. Clearly, the economic line must be drawn at the manufacturers or employers who use the most modern methods available in their industry—not at the exceptional man at the top, because a wage-demand that would take the profits of all below the very top would effectually stop industry; but the line may legitimately be drawn at the top half, that is to say, at those who have adopted all well-established improvements in business. Diminution of the profits of all who have failed to do this is of little concern either to the laborers or the public. If progress must wait for these, it would soon stop. The concerns that keep up with the progress



of methods constitute the economic standard for their industry. It is their condition, and theirs only, that may properly be considered as establishing the line at which further increase of wages may be injurious to general industry and to the public. It is not the profits of the laggards, nor the average profits of the whole industry, but only the profits of the progressive up-to-date half or, perhaps, one-third, of the concerns, that really constitute the standard. Whenever the profits of the best third or half of a general industry have reached the point that will barely supply the means of experimentation for further improved methods, without impairing the fund for maintenance of wear and tear, any wage-increase is uneconomic and would be injurious to the industry, and must react injuriously upon both the laborers and the public. When that point is reached, capitalists are justified in refusing a further advance.

It is more important to the general welfare that such a surplus remain in the hands of capital than that it be distributed to labor, to the impairment of productive efficiency. Although trade-unions are dictatorial and unreasonable, having little regard to economic conditions in formulating their demands they always have to encounter the resistance of the least progressive employers, those whose profits are tending toward the vanishing point. These always make vigorous resistance to any demand for wages that will further deplete their vanishing profits. The more modern and better equipped concerns can afford to pay any increase that these less capable concerns are compelled to yield, and whenever the demand is sufficiently persistent to cause these poorer ones to stop rather than pay, the demand for wage-advance is sure to slacken. The enforced idleness thus created is itself a check to further demands.

While it may be laid down as a general principle in practical economics that any increase of wages that will reduce the margin of profits of the better half of the concerns in



any industry below the self-sustaining and experimentation point is injurious to general industry and to the public, the fact remains that such a demand very seldom occurs, because the necessary resistance is furnished by the less progressive portion of the industry. If the demand is strong enough to push the backward ones to the wall, it is not necessarily injurious to the public nor even to the well equipped enterprises in that industry. On the contrary, it is necessary to progress that it be relieved from incompetence. Otherwise, the more progressive concerns could not raise the standard of productive efficiency. This is the only process by which poor machinery is retired and improved machinery and methods come into existence. In no other way would the hand-loom and the stage-coach have been superseded by the modern railway and improved factory methods.

Clearly, there is a point in the progress of industry when further increase in wages is injurious to the country. This point is reached when the increase would prevent the best established methods from yielding a progressive margin.



## SHOULD WIVES BE WAGE-EARNERS?

PROFESSOR Simon N. Patten, of the University of Pennsylvania, is often unconventional, sometimes rather original. He has recently been considering the question, should wives be wage earners? He appears to have arrived at the conclusion that the wife should continue a wage-earner, the same as the husband. The New York "Times" quotes him as follows:

The whole social problem would be solved, were the wife to become an income producer. Of course I refer to the young married couples where each, before marriage, is earning between \$10 and \$12 a week. I believe that each should continue a wage-earner until the husband's income increases to at least \$20, when the wife can add more to the utility of his money by withdrawing from the wage producing class.

As the income from the man increases from \$10 to \$20 a week, that of the woman remains stationary at \$10 and then, giving herself up to the home, they both can get better and more pleasure out of the husband's income. The social pressure on the woman is to force her from the employed classes. But from my point of view I see no objection to the wife working as long as it is to the better utilization of the income of the husband.

It has long been common for employers who were reluctant to raise the wages of men to encourage the notion that wives should help support the family; but never before was it advocated as a serious economic proposition by the professional economist. Of course, there are numerous individual cases where the condition of the family would be improved by the wife becoming a wage-earner, just as there are certain cases where the condition of the family would be improved by charity. But it is not as a temporary makeshift to help out individual cases in exceptional circumstances that the proposition is presented. Professor Patten does not discuss economic and sociological problems



from such temporary or personal points of view. He very properly treats such subjects from the viewpoint of the general advancement of society, and from no other is it worth discussing. His position is that it would be better—not in a few special cases, but with respect to the whole laboring class—for married women to continue as wage-earners.

In considering this novel proposition, two questions arise. First, is this view consistent with the general economic trend of society, as shown by the history of industrial evolution? Second, is it consistent with the economic law of wage-distribution?

So far as industrial data are available, the facts are all against this position. In the Middle Ages, before the wage-system was evolved, and, for that matter, in the primitive stages of society everywhere, the wives worked about as much as the husbands, and sometimes more. In the early stages of the wage-system—from the fourteenth to the eighteenth century—the wives worked as hard, and with less interruption from dissipation, as the husbands. In the early stages of the factory system, the wives spun as diligently and as regularly as the husbands wove. During the first half of the nineteenth century, when the factory system had been brought under steam power, the wives of factory operatives worked in the factories in all departments with the same regularity as the husbands. Nor was this limited to newly married couples, where the wife remained a wage-earner to help to establish the home; but it continued until several children were born. It was a common thing in Lancashire to see wives going to the factories when mothers of three or four children. It was the prevalence of this fact that brought about that vicious system of “baby-farming” in England, by which persons, chiefly old women, made a business of caring for the children of operatives, while their mothers went to the factory. This “baby-farming” became one of the scandals of the English factory



system. Children were neglected and often starved and abused to such an extent that it became a subject of public concern and Parliamentary consideration. With the social betterment of the wage class, the tendency to eliminate wives from the work-shops has increased and "baby-farming" has largely disappeared.

With the growing demand for better home conditions, this became indispensable. It is impossible to have any decent social or home life where the wife goes to the mill and on returning has to prepare supper and do the housework. Under these conditions home becomes a place of discomfort and the husband seeks attractions elsewhere. Experience has shown that where the women have to spend their evenings washing and scrubbing, the men drift to the saloon. Again, as the social standard of living rises among the wage-class a social pride is evolved, which necessarily carries with it a pride of home. The employment of the wife in the factory militates directly against this. If the husband is to have any social pride in his domestic and social status, it is essential that his wife devote her time and energy to the home.

Another feature that militates against Professor Patten's idea is that, with this social advance, the pride of the man as well as of the woman rebels against the wife continuing a wage-worker in the factory to the neglect of the home. The social pride of the woman demands material maintenance by the husband. The more advanced any class of laborers becomes, the more this is insisted upon as a condition of marriage. All this is definitely shown in the actual experience of the wage-class in different stages of social development. Among Americans, the wife works rarely in the factory. Where she does, it is among the lowest paid laborers, and diminishes as we ascend the scale of social conditions. It is most frequently found to be the case among laborers from the \$1 to \$1.50 a day class, and is



practically eliminated from the \$3 to \$5 a day mechanics. Clearly, then, the habit of wives being wage-earners is a feature of crude social life, and tends to disappear in an advancing society. Instead, therefore, of being introduced as a remedy for modern social conditions, it is, like charity, a phase of social life to be eliminated by progress. History and experience show that it is a condition to be got rid of, rather than one to be advocated.

If tried from the viewpoint of the economic law of wage distribution, Professor Patten's proposition is equally untenable. Professor Patten does not contend that the wife shall always be a wage-earner. He says: "Of course, I refer to the young married couples where each, before marriage, is earning between \$10 and \$12 a week. I believe that each should continue a wage-earner until the husband's income increases to at least \$20, when the wife can add more to the utility of his money by withdrawing from the wage-producing class." This is on the supposition that the wage-earner is likely to double his wages after he gets married. Any careful observer knows this is practically impossible. The wage-earners that make between \$10 and \$12 a week do not increase their income to \$20. Such an increase does not take place in half a century. If the wives of \$12 a week laborers are to work for wages until their husbands' wages reach \$20, they will probably be wage-earners all their lives. There are a few individual cases where laborers rise from \$12 a week to \$20, to \$50, or to \$100; but they represent no group of the wage-class. They are isolated cases, which get out of their class, and do not represent one per cent. Instead of solving the whole social problem as he suggests, this would tend to retard the progress of and probably would rather degrade the wage-class.

This whole assumption that the man's wages will rise, or that the condition of the family will be permanently improved by the wife remaining a wage-earner is contrary to



the nature and tendency of economic wage-distribution. Wages are a form of prices, and are subject to the same general law as all prices, namely, the cost of supplying the dearest portion continuously demanded in a given market. The cost, in the case of labor, is the cost of living, not of a single individual, but of the family. It is a well-established fact shown by statistics and long observed by careful economists, that the income of the family of any given group or class of laborers tends to equal the expenses or cost of living of the family, not of each individual family, nor of the poorest family, nor even of the average family, but of the dearest or most expensive families whose labor is continuously necessary. As in the case of prices of commodities, wages in a given group tend to uniformity in the same market. For instance, weavers or shoe-makers in the same locality get the same wages for the same work. These wages tend to equal the cost of living of the more expensive families. This is why men with small families or single men can save, when men with large families can not. It is upon the same principle that foreigners who come to this country can save money while Americans can not. Here they get wages established by a standard of living that is higher than their own. In proportion as they live upon less than the American laborers with whom they work, they can save. It is in the nature of a surplus, just as in the case of the capitalist who uses superior machinery. From this principle of price-uniformity, it follows that if it became the general practise in any class for the wives or children of laborers to be wage-earners, the wages of the men will tend to fall. John Stuart Mill observed this, and said :\*

The habits of the people everywhere require some particular scale of living, and no more, as the condition without which they will not

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\*"Principles of Political Economy," Book II, Chap. XIV, p. 488. See also Reports of Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, 1876, p. 71.



bring up a family. Whether the income which maintains them in this condition comes from one source or from two makes no difference; if there is a second source of income they require less from the first. . . . For the same reason it is found that, *ceteris paribus*, those trades are generally the worst paid in which the wife and children of the artisan aid in the work. The income which the habits of the class demand, and down to which they are almost sure to multiply, is made up, in those trades, by the earnings of the whole family, while in others the same income must be obtained by the labor of the man alone.

This is exactly like the practise of taking tips. Where waiters get tips, they get small wages. In some large hotels, waiters get very low wages, and in some cases no wages at all, because the income is furnished by tips. Under all conditions, the tendency of economic law is to make the income equal the standard of living of the class, be that what it may. If the income is all from one source, the man's wages, they will equal the family expenses. If it is from the wages of the man and wife, then the wages of the two will equal the expenses; and if it is from the man's, the wife's, and children's, the income of the whole family will tend to equal the cost of living. This is again illustrated in Europe where the laborer is allowed the privilege of keeping a pig or the use of a small patch of ground. In such cases, the wages are invariably lower than where no such privileges are allowed. The pig and the plot of ground furnish the difference in wages and in the long run are reckoned as wages.

The operation of this law shows itself with every variation in the source of income or in the cost of living. Thus, for instance, wherever, through a change in the value of money, prices rise, wages always follow. Neither law nor custom has ever been able to prevent this. Thorold Rogers shows that when Henry VIII debased English money, prices and wages followed. When wages were fixed twice a year, by magistrate's proclamation, as during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, the cost of living rose, and



it became absolutely necessary to supplement the wages by a pauper allowance. This was so unavoidable that it was reduced to a regular scale, the allowance rising and falling with the price of bread.

What Mill observed in England will be found everywhere. If it is the habit for the wives and children to contribute to the family support, the wages of the man are lower in proportion. In this country, among the cotton operatives, the habit is most prevalent for women and children to contribute to the family support; and the average of the man's wages is lower than in any other calling of similar social standard. Among these operatives the wives and children who contribute to the support of the family are on an average as one and one-fourth to each family, while among those employed in the building trades, the average of wives and children who work is as one to every four families. Accordingly, in the building trades the wages of the men supply about 97 per cent. of the total cost of the family's living, while among the factory operatives, the wages of the men supply only 66 per cent., or two-thirds of the cost of the family's living. The other one-third is furnished by the labor of the wives and children.

In 1875, the Massachusetts Labor Bureau investigated this subject, and the facts fully established this law. The statistics give the detailed facts of 393 families employed in the different industries. The statement for each of these families gives the amount the father earns, the whole number of the family, the number who work, the amount earned by each, the total amount earned by all, how they live, and what it costs. The average yearly earnings of the father, the wife, and children, and the cost of living in those industries are as follows:



Trades.	Father's yearly wages.	No. in family.	Wife and children working.	Total earnings of wife and children.	Total yearly earnings of family.	Total cost of living.
Shop trades.....	\$752 36	4 $\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	\$69 04	\$821 40	\$772 21
Metal-workers .....	739 30	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{3}$	90 51	829 81	723 00
Building trades.....	721 32	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{3}$	73 00	794 32	740 03
Teamsters .....	630 02	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	105 00	735 02	729 04
Shoe and leather trade...	540 00	4 $\frac{3}{4}$	1	209 00	749 00	693 13
Metal-workers' laborers..	458 09	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{8}$	256 08	714 17	697 92
Mill operatives.....	572 10	5	1	250 35	822 45	755 04
Mill laborers.....	386 04	6 $\frac{3}{4}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	284 08	670 12	638 99
Shop laborers.....	433 06	5 $\frac{1}{8}$	1 $\frac{1}{10}$	232 02	665 08	642 08
Out-door laborers .....	424 12	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{3}$	257 93	682 05	650 81

From these facts, which are ample and reliable, three things are deducible: (1) That the aggregate earnings of the average family in any given class of wage-receivers is always proportioned to the cost of living in the average family in that class. (2) That in proportion as the wife and children contribute to the support of the family the wages of the father are reduced. (3) That the standard of living and, consequently, the total income of the family is the lowest where the wife and children contribute the most toward its support.

In commenting on these facts, when submitting the report, Carroll D. Wright said: "Thus it is seen that in neither of the cases where the man is assisted by his wife or children does he earn as much as other laborers. Also, that in the case where he is assisted by both wife and children he earns the least."

This principle obtains throughout the whole field of economic action. It is true of prices, it is true of wages, regardless of industry, race or country. Upon no other principle can the difference in wages in various localities be



explained. This law explains why wages are higher in Europe than in Asia; higher in America than in Europe; higher in large cities than in small ones; higher in urban centers than in rural districts; higher where tips are not paid than where they are paid; and higher when men support the whole family than when it is supported from several sources. Professor Patten's proposition to solve the labor problem by making the wife a wage-earner is contrary alike to experience and to the law of social evolution and human improvement.

This does not mean that any arbitrary methods should be instituted to prevent wives from being wage-earners. There are numerous instances where this will be a benefit; but this is only in individual cases. Like charity, it may be beneficial so long as it is exceptional, but in proportion as it becomes the general custom of any class it becomes injurious and tends to repress progress. Like tips and other gratuities, it is beneficial only so long as it does not become part of the general economic condition of the group. As a means of permanently improving the condition of the wage-class, Professor Patten's proposition to encourage the habit for laborers' wives to work for wages is worse than a failure. It is a step backward.



## HOW COLONIES ARE GOVERNED

### JAPAN'S FIRST MODERN EXPERIENCE OF EXPANSION IN FORMOSA

STEPHEN PIERCE DUGGAN, PH. D.

"CHINA cedes to Japan, in perpetuity and full sovereignty, the following territories together with all the fortifications, arsenals, and public property thereon. . . . The Island of Formosa, together with all islands appertaining or belonging to said Island of Formosa; . . . " Article II, Treaty of Shimo-no-seki, April 17, 1895.<sup>1</sup> Thus began, as the result of war, the first Oriental experiment in over-sea colonization. How has it prospered?

Formosa, the beautiful isle, called by the Japanese Taiwan, is about 225 miles long and 60 to 80 broad, with an area of about 14,000 square miles, a little less than that of Switzerland. The western side, facing China, is a long, low plain, well-watered and fertile, but hot and unhealthy. The eastern side is mountainous and covered with virgin forests, and, though composing one-half of the entire island, it is inhabited by head-hunting savages of Malay origin, who number about 150,000 and who are at deadly feud with the people of the rest of the island. These consist of Chinese, divided into the Hoklo, who came from the province of Fukien and number about 2,000,000 and who are industrious and economical, but very unclean and superstitious; and the Hakka from Kwantung who number about 600,000. The Hakka were practically outcasts in China and are settled in the savage border districts where

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<sup>1</sup>Found in the British and Foreign State Papers for 1895.



they have been to a large extent free from official restraint, and where they are in constant warfare with the savages. The island, moreover, has always been the refuge of Chinese pirates and bandits, and for adventurers generally when affairs grew unsafe for them in China. After the defeat of the Chinese in the war with Japan, the Black Flags, under one of these pirates, established the Formosan "Republic," and when the Japanese took possession of the island they had not only to conciliate a disaffected population, but to suppress a formidable rebellion. Few nations began their colonial careers under more unfavorable conditions.<sup>2</sup>

As soon as peace had been restored, the Japanese turned their attention to sanitation. Compelled in the beginning of their occupation to make use of Chinese quarters which were characterized by a general filthiness, the death-rate among the Japanese during the first year was appalling, and the island obtained a very bad reputation in Japan, which prevented emigration and investment. The government went to work with characteristic thoroughness and soon Taihoku, or Tai-pei, the capital of the island, was superior to any city of the empire in sanitary arrangements. Thoroughly sewered, with paved streets and fine government buildings, the city has been converted from a filthy Chinese town to a clean Japanese city. Moreover, a splendidly equipped hospital was built, at which free treatment is given to the natives. What has been accomplished at Taihoku has been attempted on a smaller scale in the other important cities.

But sanitary improvement was but the first step in the Japanese advance. A scheme of public works on an immense scale was almost immediately undertaken. If the colony were to make any progress in prosperity, these im-

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<sup>2</sup>See the Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society, London, Vol. VI, 1901-1902. Also the Beiträge zur Kolonial-Politik for 1901-1902, No. 3, 448.



provements were absolutely necessary, for, under the Chinese administration, not only were the revenues obtained from the island not devoted to its interests, but it was considered a field for exploitation by the mandarins sent to govern it. When the Japanese began their occupation, the only roads were foot-paths; the only schools were the few missionary schools; there was no postal service of any kind; there was no judicial system; not a single harbor for large vessels; and communication with the outside world was poor and infrequent. The Japanese program included the building of a trunk line from north to south with branch lines to the principal cities. This has now been completed, the estimated cost having been 31,000,000 *yen*.<sup>3</sup> Over 1,000 miles of ordinary road have been built; 109 post offices have been established with a two-cent service; more than 600 miles of telephone and 2,000 miles of telegraph have been placed; eleven light-houses have been built; and cable communications have been established with both China and Japan. The difficulty of harborage has been overcome by the widening and deepening of the harbor of Keeling, the port of Taihoku, so that now vessels of large draft find easy dockage. To encourage navigation and to provide frequent communication with Japan and China, the government grants an annual subsidy of more than 800,000 *yen* to two lines; and with excellent results.

Material improvement, however, has been but one of the ways in which progress has been made. The greatest advance has been undoubtedly in the field of education. When the Japanese occupation began in 1896, there were no public schools and little education of any kind. The few Chinese schools taught merely the Chinese characters and classics, a memory-cramming process resulting only

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<sup>3</sup>The *yen* was formerly equal to one dollar, but is now worth about fifty cents.



in increased conservatism. So opposed were the natives to change, that when the government opened the public schools, it had to hire the young Chinese as scholars, not only giving them free tuition, but paying for their living expenses and clothes. The government introduced a complete educational system. At the top were three normal schools for the education of teachers. The curriculum consists of the Japanese and the Chinese languages, mathematics, geography, history, natural science, moral science, music, and gymnastics. Below these are national and native language schools, the titles of which explain their functions, and at the base of the systems are the 130 elementary schools in which the three R's, geography, history, and the Japanese language are taught. The government has also established four schools for the savages, and the educational system is to be extended until every village shall have an elementary school and forty schools for savages shall have been founded. There are now nearly 15,000 native and 1,000 Japanese scholars and 578 teachers, and the government expended in education last year almost 500,000 *yen*. Besides the schools for general education, there is a medical school attached to the splendid Central Hospital at Taihoku in which are seventy students pursuing a three years' course, whose entire expenses are paid by the government. An agricultural school, a school for silk culture, and a school for police administrators complete the government's work in education. Many of the Chinese schools still remain and the Presbyterian missionaries and Spanish Catholic friars still conduct the mission schools. It is hard for a person who has not personally observed to state whether moral improvement has kept pace with educational progress. In a very sympathetic article on Japanese work in the island, the Rev. Mr. Campbell, who certainly has had opportunity to see, states "A visibility, if not even attractiveness, is now being given to



loose living in the island, which can not but lead to very evil results."<sup>4</sup>

The magnificent work described in the foregoing pages has necessitated large expenditures, far beyond the capacity of the island itself to furnish. The imperial government has spent 150,000,000 *yen* since the occupation, but the subvention from the home government has been steadily diminished from 10,000,000 *yen*, in 1896, to less than 3,000,000, in 1900; and it is expected that the grant will totally disappear by 1910. The possibility of its disappearance is due to the splendid development of the resources of the island. The revenue in 1897, at the end of the first year of occupation was 5,000,000 *yen*; in 1902 it was 15,000,000; and it is expected to yield 20,000,000 within a few years. Evidently Formosa will soon pay its way for its civil administration, and the only expense to the home government will be for the military and naval services. The chief sources of revenue are the inland taxes, customs duties, and the three monopolies of opium, camphor, and salt, which together yield nearly half of the total.<sup>5</sup>

The use of opium was very prevalent in Formosa at the time of the Japanese occupation and presented a serious problem to the government. In Japan its use is prohibited, but to have adopted prohibition in Formosa would have resulted only in irritation and smuggling. The government, therefore, determined to make it a state monopoly and place its use under strict supervision. Opium is not produced in Formosa, but is imported from Persia, India, and China. The government bought what was already in the hands of the merchants, imported the crude product, erected refineries, and placed the sale of the finished product in

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<sup>4</sup>"Formosa under the Japanese," *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, Vol. XVIII, p. 561 et seq.

<sup>5</sup>The financial status of the island is discussed by Dr. Shimpei Goto, Civil Governor of Formosa, in the *Independent* for July 3, 1902.



the hands of 30,000 licensed retailers. Only those so habituated to its use that its discontinuance would result in discomfort are permitted to buy it, and they can do so only by means of a doctor's certificate. Some 165,752 permits have been issued representing about 6 1-5 per cent. of the population. To acquire the habit is a penal offense, and the punishment for the importation or manufacture of the product is eleven years in prison or a fine of 2,000 *yen*, or both. The monopoly yields to the government annually about 4,000,000 *yen*.

Formosa supplies the whole world with camphor. The government determined to make it a monopoly in order to protect the trees, to improve the methods of manufacture, and to regulate the supply. It also yields the government about 4,000,000 *yen*.

Salt is the third commodity that has become a government monopoly, and it yields 1,000,000 *yen* a year. The first cadastration of land and the first census of population, which were made in 1898, have also resulted in an increase of inland taxes. The revenues of the island are in a prosperous condition.

After camphor the most important resource is tea. It is the oolong, so familiar to Americans, and the best variety of which is peculiar to the island. The entire tea trade is in the hands of three American and three British houses, but the government maintains an experimental tea garden and has erected a model tea factory. Sugar also has been so developed within the past six years that it is expected that Formosa will soon be able to supply Japan with the greater part of her demand. The government has erected a mill of the most modern type with the best machinery. The rice crop comes twice a year in Formosa and the gov-



ernment has undertaken measures to increase the supply and improve the quality. The production of coal now amounts to nearly 100,000 tons annually, and so great an increase has been made in the production of gold that it is expected within a few years to rank after tea in the value of the export. The manufacture of paper, also, has assured importance, and the government has erected a modern paper mill as a model to the natives.

The result of the development of these industries is seen in the remarkable growth of the commerce of the island. In 1896, the first year of the Japanese occupation, the total imports were 9,131,000 *yen*; the total exports were 12,888,000 *yen*; and the total commerce was 22,019,000 *yen*. In 1901, after five years of Japanese administration, the total imports were 21,500,000 *yen*; the total exports were 15,644,000 *yen*; and the total commerce was 37,144,000 *yen*. This was an increase of 68 per cent. The foreign country that enjoys the greatest trade with Formosa is naturally China, but the trade with the United States amounts to 8,740,000 *yen*; with Great Britain, 3,600,000, and with Germany 1,200,000. The trade with the home country, Japan, equals 15,000,000 *yen*.<sup>6</sup>

During the past five years, since the sanitary conditions have been so much improved, many more Japanese have gone to Formosa, and they now number 40,000, outside of the military. The Japanese in Formosa do not take to agriculture, because they can neither compete with the Chinese nor stand the broiling sun so well. They go as artisans, skilled laborers, shopkeepers, and professional men. They have been generally successful, and large num-

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<sup>6</sup>The Annual Return of the Foreign Trade of Formosa for 1901, issued from the office of the Governor-general of Taiwan.



bers have evidenced their intention of remaining by sending for their families.

The government of the island is under the control of the imperial government, there being no local representation. The Governor-general has practically supreme power, being only nominally under the authority of the Prime Minister. He has control of the military and naval forces, and the entire civil administration, though under the control of another official, is within his jurisdiction. He can appoint or dismiss all subordinate officials, and he recommends all promotions to the Prime Minister. As the laws of Japan do not extend to Formosa unless special provision to that effect has been entered in the law itself, ordinances are issued by the Governor-general with the approval of the Formosan Council, but they must be sanctioned by the Emperor. The Council consists of the chiefs of the civil administration, of the financial section, of the military and naval staffs, and also of appointed councilors. The Governor-general may invite others to attend the meetings and give advice, but they have no vote. The chief of the civil administration has control of a large number of bureaus—those of railways, monopolies, education, customs, public works, agriculture and industry, etc. He is, without doubt, the most important member of the government. For purposes of administration, the island is divided into twenty *cho* or local administrative districts, each in charge of a chief, assisted by a corps of inspectors, clerks, experts, etc.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>Whatever deficiency in English of literature on Formosa there has hitherto been, is now amply supplied by the splendid work of Mr. Davidson, "The Island of Formosa, Past and Present," Macmillan & Co., 1903. The last few chapters are compiled from government documents and are of great value to the student.



Courts were first instituted in 1896, and as the Japanese laws are not enforced, the judges follow their own discretion to a great extent. The judges are qualified judges from Japan, under the direct control of the Governor-general who may suspend them on quarter pay, but can neither transfer nor dismiss them against their will. There is a court of appeals at Taihoku, divided into a civil and criminal branch of three judges each, from which there is no higher recourse. The island is divided into judicial districts in each of which there is a district court, presided over by a single judge and attached to which is a Public Prosecutor. The Public Prosecutor also controls the prisons, which are thoroughly modern in structure and arrangement. The police of the island is splendidly organized and well-paid, and a member receives a good pension in case of death or injury. The people have the greatest confidence in the courts and the reign of fraud, prevalent under the Chinese régime, has passed away.

The Japanese have been in Formosa eight years. If the work they have already accomplished is an earnest of what is to come, Western colonial nations may certainly profit by a study of their methods.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>Attention should be directed to the book of the missionary Geo. L. Mackay "From Far Formosa." It is the result of many years residence in the island. - Also that of W. A. Pickering, "Pioneering in Formosa."



## THE NORTHERN SECURITIES CASE\*

JAMES WILFORD GARNER, PH. D.

THIS history of the conception, organization, and undoing of the Northern Securities Company can not fail to be of interest to students of transportation problems and constitutional law.

The recent decision of the Supreme Court, which restrains the company from carrying out its real purposes, is generally regarded as one of the most important ever pronounced by that august tribunal. Opinions differ widely as to the merits of that decision; some have gone so far as to say that it means more to the people of the United States than any other event which has happened since the Civil War; others assert with equal confidence that a more iniquitous decree was never made by a court. . . .

The Northern Securities Company was a corporation formed under the laws of New Jersey in November, 1901, for the primary purpose of acquiring and holding a majority of the stock of the Northern Pacific Railway Company, a Wisconsin corporation, and a part of the stock, but not a majority (so the company alleges) of the Great Northern Railway Company, a Minnesota corporation.

The ultimate purpose, it was asserted, was not to vest the control of the two railroad systems in one body with

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\*By courtesy of Dr. Garner and of the "Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science," we are permitted to publish, simultaneously with the appearance of the fuller article in the above-mentioned journal, selected portions of Dr. Garner's admirably judicious study of the famous "Merger Case."



a view to suppressing competition, but to protect the Northern Pacific road from the destructive raids of a third system and for the creation and development of a great volume of trade among the States of the Northwest and between the United States and the Orient by establishing and maintaining a permanent schedule of cheap transportation rates.

The Great Northern and Northern Pacific railroads are substantially parallel lines extending from Lake Superior through the States of Minnesota, North Dakota, Montana, Idaho, and Washington to the Pacific Ocean, each connecting with lines of steamships at their termini on the Great Lakes and the Pacific Ocean. Their aggregate length exceeds 10,000 miles and, although separated at most points by an intervening country hundreds of miles in extent, they touch at several places, notably Duluth, St. Paul, Fargo, Helena, Spokane, and Seattle. The total amount of their interstate traffic which may be said to be distinctively competitive is relatively small. Mr. Hill testified that it did not exceed ten per cent. while counsel asserted that it did not exceed three per cent. and this the government did not deny, but asserted that even if the minimum estimate were true the total amount of traffic affected would approximate \$800,000 per year. Whatever may be the actual facts as to this point, the Supreme Court had already decided in a previous case that the two roads were parallel and competing lines.

The policy of the Great Northern Railroad since 1893 has been determined mainly by Mr. James J. Hill and his associates, not through the ownership of a majority of the stock, for they have never owned more than one-third of the total, but by reason of the implicit confidence which the stockholders reposed in Mr. Hill's remarkable ability and success. The destinies of the Northern Pacific since its reorganization in 1896 have been mainly controlled by Mr.



J. P. Morgan and his associates, who have acted in concert with Mr. Hill in matters affecting the interests of both systems. . . .

Immediately after the purchase of the Burlington became known those interested in the Union Pacific Railroad, chief of whom was Mr. E. H. Harriman, realizing the danger from a permanent competition which the transfer of the Burlington to the Hill-Morgan combination assured, made overtures for an allotment of a portion of the Burlington shares, but their request was denied. Thereupon ensued the "raid" of the Union Pacific or Harriman interests on the Northern Pacific shares, culminating in the memorable panic of May 9, 1901. They succeeded in acquiring a majority of the total capital stock of the Northern Pacific Company, but fortunately for the Hill-Morgan interests nearly one-half of this stock belonged to the *preferred* class and was subject to retirement at any moment before January 1, 1917. It was the mistake of the Union Pacific interests in buying preferred instead of common stock that saved the Hill-Morgan interests from losing control of the Northern Pacific. The retirement of the preferred stock and the purchase of additional shares of common by Messrs. Hill and Morgan still left them in possession of a small majority of the shares. But there was always the danger that this majority might be converted into a minority at any moment by changes of ownership.

The effect of the acquisition of a majority of the shares of the Northern Pacific by the Union Pacific interests, Mr. Hill asserted, would be to put its control practically in the hands of those who were hostile to its growth and development and destroy its value. The interests of the Great Northern shareholders, he asserted, would be similarly affected. To prevent the possibility of such contingency in the future and to protect the Northern Pacific Company from the recurrence of future "raids," it was determined



by Mr. Hill, Mr. Morgan and their associates to form a holding corporation to which should be transferred in full ownership the shares of the Northern Pacific Company held by Mr. Morgan and his associates as well as those held by Mr. Hill and his friends in the Great Northern. This would give the purchased company a majority of the Northern Pacific shares, but less than one-third of those of the Great Northern.

On November 13, 1901, the projected company was incorporated under the name of the Northern Securities Company. It was agreed that its shares should be given in exchange for Northern Pacific shares on the basis of \$115 per share and for Great Northern stock on the basis of \$180 per share, the price in both cases being somewhat less than the market value, a fact which is not without significance.

. . . The capital stock of the Northern Securities Company was, therefore, fixed at \$400,000,000, the estimated amount necessary to take over at the exchange valuation agreed upon the entire capital stock of the Great Northern and Northern Pacific companies. Within a month after the organization of the Northern Securities Company it had acquired about 76 per cent. of the entire capital stock of the Great Northern Railroad. A few weeks later the Union Pacific holders of the Northern Pacific stock seeing that they were outdone sold their stock to Mr. Morgan, receiving pay partly in cash and partly in Northern Securities stock, as a result of which the Northern Securities Company came into possession of about 96 per cent. of all the shares of the Northern Pacific. The effect was to place the control of the two roads in the hands of a single corporation, the Northern Securities Company.

Soon after the full import of the organization became known a conference of Governors and Attorneys-general representing the States directly affected was held, upon the suggestion of the Governor of Minnesota, at Helena (De-



cember 30) and it was decided that the State of Minnesota should bring suit against the Securities Company in the United States Supreme Court. Permission, however, to file a bill for this purpose was denied. The State of Minnesota then instituted proceedings in its own courts; the case was transferred to the United States Circuit Court and eventually carried to the Supreme Court, when a decision was rendered April 11, 1904, against the State on a ground of jurisdiction.

But the suit that was destined to result in the undoing of the Securities Company was that instituted on March 10, 1902, on behalf of the United States, in the Federal Circuit Court for the District of Minnesota.

The case was heard before the four judges of the Eighth Circuit in accordance with the Act of February 11, 1903, for expediting the hearing of anti-trust cases. . . . On April 9, 1903, a unanimous decision was rendered holding that the acquisition by the Northern Securities Company of a majority of the stock of the Northern Pacific and Great Northern roads was a combination or conspiracy in restraint of trade among the states, and a decree was issued prohibiting the company from acquiring further stock of the two roads from voting stock already acquired, from receiving dividends thereon, and from exercising any control over the acts of either road. The defendant railroads were enjoined from permitting their stock to be voted to the Northern Securities Company or paying dividends to the Northern Securities Company. Subsequently one of the judges suspended that part of the decree which forbade the payment of dividends, pending an appeal to the Supreme Court, to which the case was now carried.

The several lines of argument upon which the defendants relied may be roughly grouped as follows:

*First.* The acquisition by the Northern Securities Company of a majority of the shares of the two defendant rail-



road companies was not a "contract, combination or conspiracy" in restraint of trade or commerce among the States nor a "monopoly" of such trade but simply a contract of purchase and sale in no way connected with interstate trade or commerce.

*Second.* There was no evidence of intention upon the part of the defendants to restrain or monopolize trade among the States as charged by the government. The underlying motive, they asserted, was not to suppress competition, but to protect from the hostility of an enemy an arrangement designed to create and extend commerce both among the states and with foreign countries.

*Third.* The Northern Securities Company did not possess the power to restrain the trade of either road. It was merely an investment company and was not engaged in the business of transportation. . . . When it is remembered, however, that the election of the boards of directors of both roads was vested in the Securities Company this argument will be seen to have little weight.

*Fourth.* Granting the contention of the government that the Northern Securities Company had acquired the *power* to suppress the relatively insignificant amount of distinctly interstate traffic it did not follow that the power would be exercised. The mere possession of power is not criminally reprehensible if not exercised. It is the abuse of power, and not the possession of it that the law condemns.

*Fifth.* The power of Congress to regulate interstate commerce does not include the power to regulate the acquisition, transfer and ownership of shares of stock in corporations created under State law. The defendants contended that the overt act which had been committed was nothing more than the purchase by one State corporation of the shares of two other State corporations.

*Sixth.* Still another line of argument, which deserves more consideration than it has received, was the contention



of the defendants that the Sherman Act was not intended to include agreements to purchase railways or to acquire the shares of competing lines or to consolidations, inasmuch as Congress well knew that at the time of the enactment of the anti-trust law the greater part of the railway system of the country rested upon such combinations either expressly authorized or tacitly permitted by the States, and some of them having existed many years. . . . The explanation offered was, that in the judgment of the government, they were not combinations *directly* in restraint of interstate commerce and consequently the Sherman Act had no application.

*Seventh.* The Sherman Act was directed only against *unreasonable* restraints of trade such as restrictions with regard to the place of carrying on trade, the amount to be done, the regulation of prices, the use of trade secrets, etc., and not against those incidental and reasonable restraints that were always regarded as legal at common law.

*Eighth.* The Sherman law being a criminal statute should be strictly construed, or at least should not be enlarged by construction. This being true, the first section can not be stretched so as to make criminal every agreement that merely *tends* to restrain trade or that merely confers *power* to restrain.

*Ninth.* The government was not entitled to maintain this action for the conspiracy charged, if it ever existed, had accomplished its purpose and had come to an end before proceedings were commenced against the defendants.

The arguments in the case were heard at Washington, December 14 and 15, and the decision of the court was announced on March 14. The decree of the Circuit Court was affirmed by a vote of five to four. Justice Peckham, who wrote the majority opinions in the Trans-Missouri and Joint Tariff cases, Chief-justice Fuller, who concurred in both of these opinions, and Justices Holmes and White dis-



sented in the present case. . . . The prevailing opinion in the present case was written by Justice Harlan, who had written the dissenting opinion in the Knight case.

The court went directly to what it considered the two main questions involved. These were, first, whether through the organization of the Northern Securities Company the power had been acquired to restrain or monopolize commerce among the States and, second, whether the application of the Sherman law could be extended to such cases as this one where the right of the individual to acquire and hold property in a State corporation was in issue. Without directly imputing bad motives to the defendants the court declared that the effect of placing a majority of the shares of the stock of the two roads in the hands of a holding corporation, which the court described as a "mere custodian," was to give the power to control the operation of both roads in the interest of those who were the stockholders in the constituent companies, as much so for every practical purpose as if it had been itself a railroad corporation which had built, owned and operated both lines for the exclusive benefit of its stockholders.

From this it will be seen that the court took the position which the defendants had vigorously denounced as untenable, that under the Sherman Act the mere acquisition by the Securities Company of the stock of the two roads in question was in itself a contract, combination or trust in restraint of trade among the States.

The contention of the defendants that the Sherman Act was intended to prohibit only those restraints which are unreasonable at common law was also dismissed by the court as immaterial since this question had already been passed upon by the court in other cases.

Taking up the proposition toward which the defendants directed their strongest efforts, namely, that the fundamental question involved in this case was whether the power



of Congress over interstate commerce extends to the regulation of the acquisition, ownership and disposition of stock in railroad corporations created under State law merely by reason of their being engaged in such commerce, the court undertook to show that such a statement of the issue was wholly misleading and unwarranted; that it was merely setting up men of straw to be easily stricken down; that there was no reason to suppose that Congress had intended to interfere with the ownership and control of stock in State corporations; and that the court did not understand that the government had made any such contentions. But, said the court, the government does contend that Congress may protect the freedom of interstate commerce by any means that are appropriate and not prohibited by the Constitution and that no state corporation can stand in the way of the enforcement of the national will, legally expressed, by projecting its authority across the continent into other States.

The many suggestions made in the course of the arguments that an interpretation of the anti-trust act in accordance with the views of the government would seriously interfere with legitimate business interests and work widespread financial ruin were treated by the court as gratuitous assertions. Such predictions had been made by the defendants in all the preceding cases arising under the act and in no instance had they been verified. The judgment of the Circuit Court of Appeals was, therefore, confirmed.

Mr. Justice Brewer, while concurring in the judgment, felt constrained to reject some of the reasons on which it was sustained for fear, as he said, "that the broad and sweeping language of the court might tend to unsettle legitimate business enterprises, encourage improper disregard of reasonable contracts and invite unnecessary litigation." Instead of holding that the anti-trust act included all contracts in restraint of trade, reasonable or unreasonable, the



ruling, he said, "should have been that the contracts involved in this case were unreasonable restraints of interstate trade and, as such, were within the scope of the act." He based this opinion on the language of the title of the act which showed that it was directed only against "unlawful restraints and monopolies" which, according to a long course of decision at common law had reference to unreasonable restraints and not these "minor contracts in practical restraint of trade" which had always been upheld as reasonable. His idea was that there being no national common law Congress intended merely to engraft upon the jurisprudence of the United States that well understood part of the common law which related to monopolies and combinations in restraint of trade; and, unless it clearly appeared from the language of the act that a departure from the rules and definitions of the common law was intended, no such purpose should be construed. Furthermore, he expressed the opinion that the general language of the act was limited by the inalienable right of the individual to manage his own property and make such investments as his judgment dictated.

The views of the dissenting Justices were expressed on two separate opinions, one written by Justice White, the other by Justice Holmes. Justice White laid down the proposition that the fundamental question involved in the case was, whether Congress has power to regulate the acquisition and ownership of property in State corporations, and on this he wrote a long, ingenious, and, it must be admitted, able argument. It is submitted, however, with all due deference, that his premise was wholly erroneous, being due to a mental confusion of the right of the individual to acquire and own property with his right to enter into a combination for the purpose of violating a law of the United States.

Justice Holmes addressed himself mainly to the question



of whether, conceding the power of Congress in the premises, the Sherman Act applied to the present case. His argument against the contention of the majority on this point was, first, that the Sherman Act is a criminal statute and should not be construed to punish acts which have always been lawful unless it expressed its intent in clear and unmistakable language. . . . In the second place, he contended that the forbidden contracts and combinations in restraint of trade were those dealt with and defined by the common law. . . . The Sherman Act, he declared, was not aimed at community of interest arrangements, but was intended to prohibit contracts with a stranger to the defendants, business, such as that involved in the Trans-Missouri Freight Association. Thirdly, to say that "every contract in restraint of trade" and "every attempt to monopolize any part" of interstate commerce was punishable would, he said, send to prison the members of every partnership and the owners of practically every railroad, for there was hardly one that did not monopolize, in a popular sense, some part of interstate commerce.

The decree of the Circuit Court, as affirmed by the Supreme Court, did not work a dissolution of the Northern Securities Company, did not, in fact, affect its legal status in the least, but only enjoined it from acquiring further stock or from voting that which it had already acquired, or from exercising any control over either road; nor did it have any perceptible effect on the price of Northern Securities stock.

As the two railroad companies, however, were enjoined from paying dividends to the Securities Company on the stock which it had acquired from them nothing was left but to return it or suffer the loss of dividends. On March 22, following the decision of the Supreme Court, a circular letter was sent to the stockholders announcing that the directors had decided to continue the existence of the com-



pany but to reduce its capital stock by 99 per cent., the remaining 1 per cent., amounting to about \$4,000,000 and consisting of securities other than Northern Pacific or Great Northern stock was to be retained until it should be decided to wind up the affairs of the company.

The 99 per cent. representing stock acquired from the Great Northern and Northern Pacific railroads was to be returned to those who had given it in exchange for Northern Securities stock. This could be done in either of two ways, namely, by a *pro rata* method, each shareholder receiving back an equivalent of his Northern Securities holdings in the stock of both roads, or by returning to each shareholder the original stock held by him in one road. The Hill-Morgan interests adopted the first method. . . . This would amount in effect, not to a restoration of the *status quo ante*, but a redistribution, the effect of which would be to give each original owner of stock in one road a joint interest in both roads. The far-reaching consequences to the Harriman holders of this method of redistribution were soon apparent. . . . By the methods of redistribution proposed the Harriman interests instead of getting back their original Northern Pacific shares, which would mean the establishment of their control over the Northern Pacific, would get back a ratable proportion of Great Northern and Northern Pacific stock. This would leave them jointly interested in both roads without a controlling interest in either.

The following observations and conclusions, based on a careful study of the various Federal cases arising under the anti-trust act, and particularly the recent decision of the Supreme Court, are respectfully submitted:

*First.* That Congress by virtue of its power to regulate foreign and interstate commerce may forbid transactions of purchase and sale when in its judgment the result of such transactions is to confer upon two or more persons the



*power* to destroy competition between competing railroads. In the exercise of this power it is immaterial whether the forbidden transactions are expressly authorized by state law or not, or whether the property involved is the stock of railroads engaged wholly in interstate commerce or not, or whether the said railroad companies are incorporated under the laws of the United States or of a State. Likewise it is immaterial whether the intent of the transaction is to restrain commerce to create and develop new commerce, or whether the power to restrain is exercised or not, or whether if exercised the resulting restraint is reasonable or unreasonable, or whether direct and immediate or remote and incidental.

*Second.* The decision of the court does not sustain, as is often asserted, the contention that Congress may regulate the acquisition, ownership and disposition of property of State corporations or any of the incidents relating thereto. What it does hold is that no State by virtue of its power to create corporations and regulate the acquisition and ownership of property may endow any person or corporation with power to interpose obstacles in the way of free trade among the States.

*Third.* The anti-trust act should not be interpreted as forbidding those reasonable restraints which were never objectionable at common law. In fact, it would seem as if a majority of the court have come around to this view. But as the other interpretation stands as the law, Congress should amend the act so as to restrict its application to unreasonable restraints. Early in the last session of Congress Senator Foraker proposed an amendment with this end in view, but it did not meet the approval of the Administration and was, therefore, dropped. As the statute is now interpreted, it is too sweeping and if strictly enforced will work injury to legitimate business interests. It is doubtful if the framers intended to enact such a statute and the



debates show unmistakably that the members of the Senate Committee on Judiciary, notably Senators Edmunds, Hoar and George, who, perhaps, had as much to do with the framing of the law as any other members, understood that it merely enacted the old doctrine of the common law relating to restraints of trade.

*Fourth.* The Eastern "mergers," embracing about 85 per cent. of the railway mileage of the United States, will not be disturbed by the government. This assurance was given by the Attorney-general in an interview following the announcement of the decision of the Supreme Court. He declared that the government during the prosecution of the Northern Securities Company refused to give any heed to the contention of the defendants that all the railroad "mergers" in the country were on trial, but insisted that it was the validity of the Northwestern "merger" only that was in issue. Having succeeded in suppressing this one the government did not propose to run amuck. No explanation is given why this particular one was singled out for prosecution and the others allowed to go free.

*Fifth.* The refusal of the Circuit Court to intervene in the Hill-Morgan scheme for redistributing the shares originally given in exchange for Northern Securities stock leaves the Northern Pacific road in the hands of Mr. Hill and his friends.

It thus happens that although the Northern Securities Company has been suppressed by a decree of the court, the "community of interest" arrangement which the Securities Company was designed to protect, still survives. It is, therefore, questionable whether after all anything of permanent value has been gained by the prosecution and the resulting decree of the court.



## AMERICAN STEEL ROADS

GEORGE E. WALSH

RELIEF from the congestion of street traffic in our large cities is a municipal problem which intensifies with each succeeding decade, and the construction of subways, elevated railways, automobile lines, and steel roadways for heavy trucking business, contribute to some extent to the alleviation of the evil; but in great cities like New York, the increase of the street traffic more than keeps pace with the improvements designed to lessen it. However, the efforts made and planned in the near future to solve in a measure the whole question of congested streets and avenues indicate an acute public sense of responsibility which the authorities experience, and if engineering science can accomplish the desired results we may hope for a speedy termination of the evil. Of the many municipal experiments so far made, the most interesting is that with steel roads for heavy trucks, which are intended to deflect the heavy traffic from the car lines to less congested thoroughfares prepared to receive it.

The modern American steel road is not so much a road of steel as it is an improved railway track adapted to the use of ordinary trucks. Twelve-inch plates of steel, one-quarter of an inch thick, are laid down on a bed of broken stone or vitrified clay at the standard gauge of four and a half feet. The rails have flaring sides with downward flanges, which fit evenly with the surrounding surface of stone pavement. This latter is raised slightly over the level of the steel plates, so that by means of the sloping guides the wheels of vehicles are conducted naturally to the



steel surface below. The plates are strongly spliced by a channel piece closely fitting underneath the joint in order to form a continuous rail of uniform bearing. The steel tracks thus formed accommodate the widest wheels of the heaviest truck, and give to them far less resistance than the ordinary car tracks. The latter are generally too narrow for truck tires, and the constant friction against the sides partly neutralizes the gain obtained in other ways.

The relative effort exerted to carry a ton over any roadway is a most important factor to consider, and while engineers have carefully computed the loss through heavy hauling comparatively few people who use our streets and country roads stop to think of the enormous waste daily expended on poor roads. It requires a force equal to 224 pounds to propel a single ton over an ordinary dirt road, on a level, at a speed of three miles an hour; but on a surface uniformly paved with cobblestones 140 pounds will move the same load. If the cobblestones are carefully selected and laid so that the surface is unusually smooth and level a force equal to 75 pounds will suffice to move the ton. On the average macadam road this same power averages from 46 to 65 pounds, while on asphalt pavement the force is reduced to 17 and 20 pounds, depending upon the condition of the asphalt surface. An iron or steel railway has superior advantages to the asphalt. On a steel track of this nature, or on the ordinary steel roads described above, the resistance to be overcome in order to move a ton on a level three miles an hour requires a force equal to only 12 to 14 pounds.

The relative cost of putting down steel roads either for the city or country is one that naturally calls for careful consideration. The amount of metal for a mile of steel tracks would approximate seventy-five to one hundred tons, including the steel splices and bolts. With steel at \$18 to \$20 per ton, the price for which it has sold in the last few



years, the cost of the material for a mile of steel road either for the city or country would run from \$1,800 to \$2,000. This does not represent the labor and cost of laying the tracks, nor of fixing the adjacent part of the road. In the country districts where the steel roads would be subjected to much lighter use than in the cities, the rails could be narrower, and the road outside of the line of rails could be left unfinished. This would enable drivers of vehicles to use the steel tracks continually except when turning out for other trucks or wagons coming from the opposite direction.

Great as the waste of energy in hauling may be in the cities, it is estimated that in the country, proportionate to the amount done, there is an annual loss of power, because of bad roads, ten times as great as on paved streets. Efforts have been made by the Agricultural Department to ascertain the relative amount of loss suffered by farmers through the use of poor country roads. In the statistics gathered of the cost of hauling on country roads, with estimates of distances and quantities moved, the total expenditure for this work has been found to approximate \$900,000,000, of which two-thirds are chargeable to bad roads. According to the estimates furnished, it was found that the average cost was twenty-five cents per ton per mile. In Europe, where good country roads have long been in existence, the average cost per ton per mile is as low as eight cents. But even this rate is exorbitant compared with the cost of hauling on steel roads.

The question of steel roads is consequently one that applies to the country districts fully as much as to the cities. The cost of making country roads in the United States, with a fair macadam foundation and surface, varies from \$1800 to \$10,000. In Massachusetts, New Jersey and Rhode Island many excellent highways have been constructed costing the latter sum; but the average for an ordinary road may be placed at \$4000 or \$5000. Where only the center of



the road is macadamized, the cost runs from \$2000 to \$2500. Stretches of road built for \$1500 and \$1800 a mile are located in regions where the stone could be obtained free, and not even there unless the county owned the rock-crusher and machinery necessary for road working.

With our country roads costing from \$2000 to \$3000 a mile, the steel road would prove more serviceable for many reasons. The force required to haul the load over the steel plates would be much less, and it would prove equally easy in summer, spring, and winter. On the best macadam country road, haulage in the winter and spring becomes almost impossible. The soft mud will work up to the surface, requiring constant and expensive repairing, and when the spring thaw begins heavy loads can not be hauled. Farmers are thus handicaped in the delivery of their goods at some of the most important seasons of the year. The question of repairs will always show a heavy balance in favor of the steel roads. There should be no repairs required of steel roads oftener than once a year, and these should be of little account. The steel rails should last for upward of a quarter of a century in the ordinary country districts where traffic is light.

A good deal depends upon the thoroughness of putting down the steel tracks. There must be a perfect foundation of stones, gravel, or burned clay for the steel plates. The foundation must be built down far enough to insure perfect solidity, and the surface finished off with cobblestones large enough to give the rails stability in freezing and thawing weather. The weight of the rails and their continuous length will ordinarily make them firm and steady on almost any kind of a foundation; but where the soil sags and is washed out in places, the constant pounding of the rails will in time weaken the channel pieces and ties. The weak parts of the steel roads are at these joints, but, if provided with proper stone foundations at each joint, there should be little danger of any injurious strain or friction.



The ordinary asphalt pavement of our cities presents a clean and satisfactory surface for many pleasure vehicles; but for heavy trucking they are very poor substitutes for the cobblestones or stone blocks. In wet and frosty weather they are dangerous to horses hauling even light loads. The slipping and sliding of horses and vehicles have caused a good deal of dissatisfaction, and in New York protests have constantly been raised against the further extension of the present asphalt system. The steel roads, on the contrary, laid on solid stone roads of the city have proved of the greatest value, and the demand for more of them has the approval of truckmen, automobile owners, and drivers of pleasure vehicles.

The experiments so far made with the steel roads in New York have proved successful, and the Highway Department of the city has made application for new lines of steel roads. These will be laid down on the streets and avenues where heavy trucking is now carried on, and also on thoroughfares paralleling main street railway lines in order to deflect some of the heavy traffic away from these arteries of travel. By a more general distribution of the traffic in this way the present congestion of the streets will be greatly modified. The steel tracks will also be laid on most of the docks and piers where the wooden planks are being rapidly worn out by heavy traffic, causing an annual heavy outlay to replace them. It is estimated by the City Dock Department that a saving of fifty per cent. in repairs could be saved for the city in this way. The State engineer has made formal application to lay specimen steel roads on the Hudson, especially a short track running from the Ulster slate quarries to the river front. The heavy ten-ton loads of rock, which are now carried from the quarries to the river for boat transportation, ruin the finest macadam or cobblestone roads in a very short time, and the difficulty experienced in keeping the thoroughfare from the quarry to the boats in good con-



dition is costing the State a considerable sum every year. In New Jersey a movement is now under consideration to construct a steel road of the above description across the Hackensack Meadows, while in the District of Columbia work will soon begin on specimen steel roads for general traffic.

By having the space between the steel tracks of stone or macadam foundation, the trouble of slipping experienced on city asphalt streets will be entirely avoided, and the horses will be able to secure a firm footing, while at the same time the wheels will have an exceedingly smooth surface to run over. The repairs necessary to keep the inside of the track in good condition would represent the chief outlay for each year. This item would be inconsiderable, for the friction of the wheels on it would be comparatively small.

The construction of ideal automobile roads for high speeding is a question that is agitated all over the country, and the steel roads promise to solve the problem better than any other. The tracks proposed are to be laid with steel plates of the regulation width, and after they have been placed in position the sides and centers will be sown with grass. In this way a perfectly dustless roadway for automobiles would be obtained for any season of the year. With two tracks running in the same direction, one for moderate riding and one for speeding, an ideal place would be furnished for lovers of this form of outdoor recreation. Millions of dollars have been spent to construct speedways for horse racing and speeding; but with a very small percentage of such a sum hundreds of miles of fine automobile, dustless tracks could be built, connecting towns and cities to the great satisfaction of thousands. The demand for steel roads is thus one of the exigencies of the day, and a sure indication of the changes that are rapidly being introduced in our modern systems of travel and heavy traffic.



## PARIS OF TODAY AND YESTERDAY

HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT

COMING again to Paris, after an absence of seven years, I find the city more beautiful than ever—more beautiful but not more brilliant, nor more picturesque. The picturesque throughout wide areas has been made to give place to beauty and utility in the clearing away of medieval landmarks and revolutionary barriers, in the widening and straightening of thoroughfares, and in the erection of imposing edifices and the laying out of gardens along their borders. For the pride and purposes of royalty, the buildings, bridges, and monuments designed or accomplished by Henry IV and Louis XIV were largely increased in number and improved in adornment by Napoleon I, who regarded Paris as the capital not of France alone but of all Europe. These brilliant beginnings were nobly supplemented, on behalf of an appreciative public, after the plans and designs of Baron Haussmann and others, by Napoleon III, who, for city building and the organizing and management of public pageants, whatever may have been his prowess in the field of war, had no superior. And the several epochs of improvement, as before intimated, were greatly aided by the clearances made by the revolution of 1793 and the siege of 1871, which led to elegant, new, and ornate designs in the rebuilding, while each of the great expositions left some permanent structure to add to the material glories of the city. So that, although with the departure of royalty, the imperial displays of the last emperor, which so delighted both Parisians and visitors and made brilliant the city, also departed, Paris still maintains her prestige as the first of pleasure grounds



and the most beautiful city in the world. Nor was ever fulfilled the prophecy of Victor Hugo in 1830, that at the rate Paris was changing there would be a new Paris every fifty years, and that while his forefathers had a Paris of stone his sons would have a Paris of plaster.

For the most part results of the lessons learned under able teachers during the past ten centuries remain to this day. Paris is a well-regulated city, clean, quiet, and self-contained. Her three millions of people and twenty thousand acres of houses, parks, streets, and sewers, with her twenty thousand cabs and other vehicles, her shops, hotels, restaurants, theaters, churches, art galleries, race courses, river traffic, and the like are kept in order by an army of police, laborers, and officials at a cost of \$50,000,000 a year, all of which and more is met by the profits arising from the presence of visitors, mostly pleasure-seekers. A light and airy spaciousness characterizes the better quarters, particularly around the parks and along the river from the Trocadéro to Nôtre Dame, while a fine effect is given by the wide spaces allowed around monuments and public buildings, as the half-mile Tuileries garden, the thirty-acre Place de la Concorde, the Place de L'Etoile, one thousand feet in diameter, the two hundred and fifty feet wide Champs Elysées, filled with gay equipages. This wise and liberal allowance of space increases tenfold the effect of architecture and works of art, and throws into painful contrast the environs of such buildings as St. Paul's in London, Trinity in New York, and the City Hall in San Francisco. Of automobiles there are twice as many as in London, being at least one for every twenty cabs, and one for every bicycle. But, although the streets are more crowded with traffic than ever, and the little *sergents de ville* more briskly important, and the roué is seen just the same boozing on the boulevard or sipping his absinthe in the café, there is still present in it all the humdrum air of the republic, the absence of imperial



pageantry as well as of popular riot and revolution. It is money now that Paris wants, rather than tumbrels and guillotines, or the equipages and outriders of royalty. Past glory must be made to pay, while the shame of the past is silently wiped out. Indeed, all Europeans well understand how to make the tourist traffic profitable. This traffic is now one of the chief resources of the nation, one of the strongest incentives to the avoidance of war, and without which the ways and means of commerce and finance would have to be reconstructed. It is during the season of travel, which of late years is greater than ever, that the profit for the year is made by all classes of trades, as transportation, merchandise, hotels, and scores of kindred occupations. England may bluster, Germany may rage and rob the heathen, and France herself may chatter, but they all are as careful as ever were the Yankees over their sales and bargains not to stop the inflow of the dollars.

Though the city was made largely to minister to the pride and vanity of kings, it is now maintained for profit as a show place, and it is kept in order accordingly. It requires no deep penetration to look through the thin varnish of French manners and see the Frenchman himself. Whatever the quality of his polish, the Frenchman is polite, and whatever the quality of his politeness, he makes sure to turn it to profit. It is an article of merchandise, to be used freely as it costs little, but, like lying, not to be wasted.

While millions are squandered by visitors in profitless display and luxurious living, the true Parisian, with instincts and experiences alive to the art of living, reaps where others sow, and enjoys his Paris largely at the expense of those who are willing to pay for his society. Yet nowhere is the mighty power of a copper cent more apparent than here. For one *sou* to the conductor, in addition to the regular fare of three cents on top or six cents inside, you may buy a whole omnibus full of politeness. The purchase is



so cheap and the effect so gratifying that many indulge in it, and often here as in other callings the tips amount to more than the wages. I have seen a poor girl, shabbily clad and carrying a basket, tip the conductor and receive the treatment of a princess. Even beggars can afford to buy politeness in Paris. If living in Paris is somewhat strained at times, dying is no better. An American lady paid \$700 for nineteen days' care in hospital, besides a \$600 physician's fee. The burying of the better class is a monopoly, a kind of trust, with fixed rates of 6000, 4000, and 2000 francs, according to the ostentation desired. Cremating and embalming, each 2000 francs.

Europeans are much alike in regard to tips and *pour boires*, and Americans are unfortunately falling into the same ways, thus degrading labor and making servile all service. When I first visited the *Crédit Lyonnais* I noticed that nearly every one who drew money gave something to the messenger who brought it to him in the salon where he waited. It struck me as rather beneath the dignity of an institution with two hundred and fifty millions capital (francs, not dollars) and thirty branch offices, to permit such a practise. Later I saw posted on every side: "*Les clients sont instamment priés de ne pas donner de pour boires aux garçon-payeurs,*" which seemed to increase rather than to allay the evil.

The leaseholder in Paris, if a foreigner, encounters strange ways. His landlord will not accept the rent in advance, but puts it off until his annual tax bill comes in, a large part of which he then transfers to the account of the tenant, in which will be found a long list of impositions beginning with the tax on the window panes and ending with the tax on the coal-hole, on which the tenant is made to pay the landlord's obligations. A large gratuity must be given to the *concierge* on taking possession, who otherwise will make the tenant's life a burden. The butler or cook must



be allowed to do all the buying for the house, on every article of which he receives a commissoin, only one day's supply being purchased at a time in order that he may every day receive his tribute. And when Christmas comes, which ends only with the year, and its obligations with the *étrennes* or New Year gifts, a new army of beggars appear,—first the *maire* of the *arrondissement*, arrayed in the full blazonry of office, on behalf of the hospitals. He is followed by the butcher, the grocer, coal-man, and the *facteur* or postman, who divides his receipts with all the other postmen of the district.

A hundred years ago a visit to Paris for French polish was deemed necessary to the proper finishing off of English and American gentlemen. But a Latin veneer is not so greatly valued in these later days by "Anglo-Saxon" men. There yet remain mothers, however, who seem to regard the ways of female Paris for their daughters an improvement on American manners.

Nothing must be allowed to interfere with the male pleasures of Paris, which are too often well spiced with wickedness, woman herself being subordinated thereto. Hence the *salles de danse*, *cafés concert*, *bals masqués*, *cabarets artistiques*, and the like, from which respectable women exclude themselves, yet leaving pastimes quite enough for the most plethoric purses in the shops, operas, picture galleries, and parks, which they are at full liberty to patronize.

Since my last visit to Paris the *sergents de ville* seem to have shrunk, until they are now but little more than half the size of our paddy policemen of New York. French soldiers are also smaller than they were formerly, and more insignificant in general appearance,—quite different from the fine looking fellows the last as well as the first Napoleon had about him, to say nothing of such specimens as the Swiss guard of Louis XVI. .



Forgetful of his former attitude that the United States contributes nothing to the world's storehouse of knowledge, the German Emperor said one day to Count von Bernsdorf, president of the Potsdam police, who complained of Berlin methods, "Why don't you go to America where you can learn something?" The Count went, and on his return praised the size and courtesy of the New York police, who happened, when he saw them, to be in an amiable mood; "but then," he added, "the Americans have money to throw at the birds!"

The army has lost an inch or two in stature since the German war, that is physically; morally it has come down a foot. Mounted, the French soldier appears ill at ease, with neither the gracefulness of the American cowboy nor the imposing carriage of the English cavalryman; and little wonder, considering the lumbering animals they ride. The cabbies and omnibus-drivers also seem shorter, and broader, and their faces more beet-like; the little squeak with which they urge forward their horses, with much whip-cracking, having ascended the scale to high C. Doubtless the French army is better than it looks, though scarcely so good as Frenchmen believe it to be.

A French shave consists of a vile scrape with a dull razor, while the victim is seated in a common chair; after which he may get up, wash his face himself from a swing bowl, pay two, five, or ten cents, and go his way silently swearing.

In many ways Europe is slowly becoming Americanized. By our finance and new manipulations of values the statesmen and business men are alike bewildered. In war and diplomacy we are teaching them, whether they will or not. They still regard their ways in railway management superior to ours, yet they deign to use, to some extent, our sleeping cars, and may in time substitute our day coaches for their ill-arranged and stuffy compartment carriages. England, even, may awake some time to our superior sys-



tem of checking baggage, instead of requiring each passenger to look after his own effects. The companies spend more time and money, ten times over, hunting up lost baggage, for the safety of which they disclaim any responsibility, than a proper system of checks would cost.

In all branches of education, in the professions, and in commerce, there are scattered throughout the land American workers who are gradually winning their way to the front, their excellence being more and more recognized.

It is safe to say that, how much soever America owes to Europe for civilization, for literature, and the rudiments of learning, the time has come when we can no longer profitably pursue studies in that quarter. The scholar has outstripped the master, and is now the teacher. Europe has little left for Americans to learn that they can not acquire better at home. Music, medicine, government, science, and the arts,—in all these and more, we may, without egotism, claim superiority. For comfortable living, and for pleasure and happiness we have enough.

The American woman is here the best gowned of any. There is no reason why Paris should promulgate for New York the fashion in female dress any more than that New York should set the fashion for Paris. Vienna is quite independent of both. Venice gave the fashion to Paris five hundred years ago. Now Paris dominates the world in this respect, and waxes fat on this all-compelling craze of woman.

There are picture galleries, churches, palaces, and other relics of royalty, a visit to which may be found profitable, as all travel is profitable to the intelligent mind; but for hereditary monarchies and unemployed nobility, whether of the past or present, we have little respect. The machine-



made rulers of Europe, do not compare favorably with our President, notwithstanding his stupendous luck in having only to put on cowboy clothes, turn up the rim of his hat on one side, mount a mustang, and ride into the greatest rulership on earth.

As for sending young Americans to European schools, no folly could be greater. The manners and morals inculcated in France are bad, full of affectation and deceit, while for primary education only a one-sided information is given, leaving the mind warped and worse than in its original state. In the study of geography, for instance, the geography of France is given in minutest detail, as of primary importance, while that of all the rest of the world is lightly treated, if at all. As for the other branches, there is nothing that can not be better learned in the United States, except, perhaps, foreign languages in their finer accents, an over-valued accomplishment, seldom acquired and still less often retained. Art and music can be learned in the United States as well as elsewhere. The Latin Quarter in Paris, as the home of art and artists, bohemianism, dirty Trilbys, and clean Englishmen, with an atmosphere of garlic and genius, is much of a myth. Students can learn there, if they study hard enough; so they can in the slums of New York.

In commerce and manufactures, and, indeed, in all industrialism, the European manufacturer is essentially secretive, fearful lest he be robbed of some advantage, while the American is more open in his dealings, somewhat careless, perhaps, in his native superiority.

In the phantom called "honor," by way of courtesy, the less a nation has of it the more obliged it feels to parade it. As the world goes it is safe to say that the Latin race as a rule is not as truthful and honorable as some others. In



an emergency it is not to be relied upon for self-sacrifice or chivalrous conduct. The word "gentleman" has quite different significations in London and in Paris.

How few great men, or men of more than ordinary ability, has the Latin race produced in modern times! That carbuncle of Europe which caused such discomfort a hundred years ago, though worshipped by France, was not a Frenchman, but a Corsican. How many of the Forty Immortals, or their successors, are known, even by name, outside of France? Among the many important inventions of the age, of any age, which of them does the world owe to Latin Europe, or even to Germany, or to Russia? Some, no doubt, but scarcely enough to justify the superior pretensions of Germany. De Lesseps dug the Suez Canal, for which work he was justly lauded, and only escaped greatness by failing in a Panamá canal, for which he was degraded by his countrymen, and ground down to poverty and death.

Journalism, authorship, and all intellectual effort have lower standards of excellence on the continent than in England or in the United States. Prominent literary men of the Latin race can not necessarily be regarded as the equal of men of letters of equal prominence, even in Germany. Their great writers are not so great out of their own country. And even at home the best are not the best known. Requiring a portrait of Balzac, I asked for it at several shops, and not half the men I saw knew or had ever heard of such a person. Equal ignorance of Howells might, perhaps, be found in the United States. I once encountered a bookseller just off Fifth Avenue, New York, who insisted that there never was an American writer named William Gilmore Simms. Rabelais is remembered and read; and if



there are no more Voltaires or Rousseaus or Molières in France, or Dantes in Italy, or Cervantes in Spain, there are likewise no more Goethes in Germany or Shaksperes in England. In my search for a portrait of Balzac I found a Frenchified Franklin and a Paris-made Lincoln, the former apparently more at home here than the latter.

Probably because of the comparatively greater progress in the United States than elsewhere during these latter times, London and Paris do not seem so much in advance of New York now as formerly. London has substantial merits difficult to eradicate or surpass, while in Paris much is done to make things pleasant. Yet the world does not seem to move on the east side of the Atlantic as on the western side. It would seem that the time is fast approaching when the "grand tour" alone will remain desirable of the multifarious educational and "finishing" facilities which, for a century have lured the youth of the great American republic over the water to the shores of our elder sister nations. Even then we shall offer a fair exchange.



## ARE RULERS BECOMING MORE AUTOCRATIC?

STANHOPE SAMS

EVER SINCE feudalism was crushed beneath the long pent up wrath of the people, there has been a tendency toward a broader and broader democracy. Despotic power was gradually taken from the hands of kings and emperors, and the people reclaimed what they had given in trust and what had been grossly abused. Constitutional government succeeded to despotism, cabinets took the place of court favorites in shaping the whisper of a throne, and representative assemblies supplanted privy councils, star chambers, and puppet legislatures called merely to blind the eyes of the populace. The great French revolution gave tremendous impetus to this development of democracy, as a French revolution has been the dynamic force in almost every modern reform movement. Another French revolution toppled other crowns and autocracies that had withstood the shock of the first; and after 1848 Europe was supposed to be practically republican in sentiment, although it clung to the tinsel and trappings of royalty.

In this general movement toward a wider and a more liberal democracy, even republican nations, like Switzerland and the United States, grew more and more democratic. There is a wide gulf, for instance, between the aristocratic nature of the American government under Washington and the plain democracy of Jefferson and Lincoln. Even France, the cradle of modern liberty, although always passionately fond of the pageant of royalty, finally became in form what she was already in substance—a republic. When France took this step, it was generally hailed by the lovers of liberty and democracy throughout the world as the be-



ginning of the end. Crowns and diademns were to fall from the anemic brows that quaked beneath them; thrones were to totter to their fall; empire was to be extinguished; and the republic of man was to extend its boundaries until humanity was to govern itself in a well-ordered democracy.

But this tendency has come to a sudden halt. There is no longer any drift toward republicanism on the part of any nation in the world. The hopes inspired by France have been blighted. One of the few republics in the world worthy of the name has recently been obliterated by British imperialism; and there is hardly a doubt that were the republican pressure of the United States removed, the restive Latin-American countries would hasten to array themselves in the cast-off finery of royalty.

On the other hand, there is a perceptible drift backward toward autocratic rule. Perhaps the most remarkable, as well as the most alarming, phenomenon in politics today is the growth of despotic power. Rulers have not been re-invested with unlimited authority, either by acts of parliament or by the vote of the people. Neither have they suddenly or forcibly seized upon greater prerogatives. They have gradually assumed it step by step, unopposed and possibly unobserved. But it is hardly too much to say that the ruler of every important country in the world today is more powerful, more despotic, more of an autocrat than was his predecessor, or even than he was himself a few years ago. This, of course, does not apply to such nondescript governments as China and Turkey, vastly important in many respects as they are. But from the Tsar of all the Russias to republican Presidents—whether in France or the United States—there has been a very positive increase in the personal initiative in the influence, and in the power for good and evil of rulers. We need only with comprehensive view survey mankind from China to Perú to discover that this is so.



The ruler that is first suggested to the mind is the sage, calm, collected, powerful potentate of Japan. The present Emperor has absolute, unchecked authority—far greater than that possessed by any of his ancestors for centuries. The humiliating period of the Shogunate is, of course, excluded from consideration, as throughout that time the Emperors sank to the position of hermit-priests—the “Mikados,” whose title still survives in an ill-informed newspaper press. Since the Restoration in 1868, the present Emperor of Japan has been a ruler of unlimited power. It must be said that he is unquestionably the wisest, ablest, sanest ruler in the world today, no matter whether we include imperial or presidential states. It was largely through his wisdom that the great revolution succeeded with so little sacrifice to his country. It was largely due to his wisdom that Japan prepared for what McKinley would call her “manifest destiny,” and was ready to defeat China and take rank among the great powers of the world. It is also largely due to his wisdom that Japan found herself so magnificently prepared last February when it became necessary to fight Russia.

The present Emperor of Japan is clearly recognized as the initiator of the policies of his country as well as their executor. He probably takes a larger share in the government of his own country than does any other ruler in the world today. Such a man, of such wisdom and virtue and power, goes far toward turning the drift toward democracy backward in its channel. The Japanese people entertain for their ruler a loyalty that could be evoked by no republican ruler, no matter how wise or brilliant. It is not without significance that General Oku, the victor of the brilliant fight at Telissu added to his report the classic formula that the victory had been largely due to the influence of the reigning Emperor. It is for love of him that the two hundred Japanese went down with their ship rather than sur-



render, that Japan might have another, although an unnecessary, example of heroic sacrifice. It was for love of him, also, that the Japanese soldiers stormed positions at the Yalu, at Nan-shan hill, and at Telissu, where the best regiments of Europe would have blenched, and where the best soldiers of the world could have failed without shame.

On the throne of Russia, the inevitable rival of Japan, we find a man who, although handicapped by nature with a weak constitution and a mind oscillating between mediocrity and insanity, is yet the actual head of his nation. He is not only an autocrat in theory, but in fact. He presides over the councils of his empire and controls their deliberations; he is constantly reviewing armies and fleets—in other words busy day and night with the great affairs of an extensive realm. His initiative is felt in every pulse of business and policy throughout his vast dominions. His word, or his deliberate inaction, forced upon Japan the war now raging in the Far East. But over against this wanton plunging of his country into war, is to be set his great achievement in suggesting the Peace Conference at The Hague—an everlasting honor to him, notwithstanding the stain of insincerity that has already attached to it. His influence is felt in legislation, and in the domestic and foreign policies of his empire. He is generally credited with being in favor of sweeping reforms, and it is possible that he may succeed in securing them, and thus save his country from revolution and ruin. Such is not the popular notion of an emperor, who is generally supposed to be idle and of no influence upon his people.

To mention the Kaiser of Germany, is to use an epithet of measureless energy. How strong, vigorous, and definite a figure he presents beside the pale effigy of his father! He is the active chief of his army and navy, rides in charges at maneuvers, and directs the evolutions of his battalions and fleets. He tells painters how to paint, sculptors how to



carve, historians how to write history, and imparts to dramatists and poets new secrets of their art. He lectures scientists on science, enlightens Delitsch on Babylon, instructs clergymen on theology, and to philosophers poses as the fount of supreme wisdom. He is devoted to the chase, and shoots and uses the boar-spear in spite of a withered arm. He is "not one but all mankind's epitome;" and his kaleidoscopic career, charged with an energy that may seem empty and purposeless to many, but which wins the admiration and love of his people, inevitably suggests the biting lines of Pope: "stiff in opinion, always in the wrong; All things by starts, and never one thing long." He could not be busier, or occupy himself more diligently with the affairs of his position, if he were manager of some great American business organization, and paid a billion dollars a year as salary.

After the Kaiser, what ruler can be mentioned except the ruler of the United States, or of "America?" Whatever difference of opinion there may be concerning Mr. Roosevelt, no one can question his fiery interest in everything, from increasing the birth rate to extending the bounds of his "empire." And no one can successfully challenge the statement that he has a greater influence upon the home and foreign policy of his country than any former president of the United States. Washington may have been wiser and calmer in philosophic deliberations, and may have been more honored as the sage counselor of his people; but he did not exercise the influence, and did not wield the autocratic power of Mr. Roosevelt. Nor did the Father of his Country have such influence as Mr. Roosevelt in laying the course of the ship of state, whether we conceive the ship as driving on the rocks of imperialism, or as steaming, too swiftly to be followed by our common eyes, to a distant but secure haven. Like the Kaiser, who is his political twin, he also reviews armies and fleets, dashes hither



and thither over the country, rides with reckless speed, hunts whenever possible, shoots lions (but, of course, is too patriotic to shoot anything but American lions), breaks records in making stump speeches, blazes out new paths in public policy and in the conduct of affairs, overrides the veteran leaders of his party and deposes them at his will, electrifies the world by his startling announcements and startling threats, lectures Cuba and warns the world that it need not fear the interference of America as long as it behaves itself, browbeats Colombia, and recognizes a paper republic and takes over a part of its territory for a canal. His energy is beyond mathematical calculation—an electric current, a thunderbolt, in breeches. He is the state as much as Louis XIV was. The foreign policy of the United States is his policy; and if it results in making the country respected and feared abroad it will be to his glory; and if it brings the country to war and disaster, it will be his shame. He does not sit in the presidential chair—he does not reign—he rules. There is in the world today no such autocrat as the President of the United States.

Another president may also be mentioned in this list of energetic rulers—President Loubet of France. While he seems a calm and unperturbed spirit in the presence of President Roosevelt and Kaiser Wilhelm, he is a man of the greatest and most varied activity. His influence is tremendous at home and abroad. His personal efforts counted for much in securing the alliance with Russia and the *entente* with Italy. It also counted for much in ridding France of the incubus of the Church. If he were not a little paled by the proximity of the great orbs of Roosevelt and Wilhelm, President Loubet would be considered as one of the most energetic, influential, and most autocratic of rulers.

The quiet and sheltered throne of England can not be overlooked even in such a brief survey. The present King



is credited with bringing to an end, honorable alike to his country and to the magnificent foe, the war with the South-African Republics, and in granting to the Boers more liberal concessions than even his gentle mother would have been willing to grant. He has greatly developed since Bagehot described him as an "unoccupied young man." He is supposed to have drawn France and England into closer friendship, to have made Italy almost an ally of England, to have aided in the Japanese alliance, and to have made the relations with Russia less inflammable. His influence, his initiative, and his real power are greater perhaps than those of any British ruler since Cromwell.

What is the cause of this growth of autocratic power of rulers? It has not come about through legislation or through popular movements. It is unquestionably due to the modern attitude with regard to personal responsibility and the obligations imposed by high position. A loftier ethics controls the great ones of the world. They must do something, they must be active, energetic, vigilant—for the very reason that they occupy an exalted station, whether by mere inheritance, as the Tsar; or by "divine right," as the Kaiser; or by choice of the people, as the President of France; or by accident, as President Roosevelt. They must give some account of themselves.

It was not the purpose, nor is there space, in this brief essay to deal with the question of whether the growth of autocratic power on the part of rulers is a benefit or an injury to the people. Most persons will agree that it is better to have for president or pope, kaiser or king, tsar or sultan a man of great energy and vigilance; provided, of course, that the energy be not in the interest of wickedness and oppression, and the vigilance be not solely for the ruler's personal advantage. We like to see a man, whether president or peasant, alive to the responsibilities of his station in life; and, unquestionably, a king or emperor or president



can do much good if he uses his power in the right direction. He stands on a high point of vantage. It costs him and the world something, but he may possibly repay the cost if he is wise, active, and courageous. Victor Hugo longed for a little gold lace on a general's coat sleeves in a famous revolutionary crisis in Paris; and so the glitter of a crown may sometimes have more effect than the uplifted voice of a million people. Again, perhaps, most of the people in their hearts cherish no abiding hatred of royalty. Perhaps a large proportion of them like to see it, as a passing show. Hardheaded England has found it in the interest of economy and peace to keep up the empty and expensive pageant of royalty; and Napoleon the Great silenced the murmuring mobs of Paris by gilding domes, and Napoleon the Little by keeping up a brave show of imperial splendor.

It may be said, however, in passing, that this increase of the autocratic power of rulers indicates one of the gravest dangers of modern society. It reveals a wider and wider cleavage between the rulers and the people. The abyss yawns deeper and wider every year. In Russia and Germany while the autocrats are becoming more and more autocratic, the people are drifting nearer and nearer to socialism or to anarchism. Of Japan it is too early to speak, as that nation is still too closely fused and forms too compact a unit for socialism or democracy to have made any headway; but it will have to face the same peril and suffer the same disaster unless the real power of the nation is returned to the hands of the people. England and France, with wise prevision, found safety in drawing closer together by constitutional means the rulers and the masses, and have so averted immediate danger. In this country the growth of socialistic and anarchistic sentiment will be found proportionate to the growth of the "state" and pageantry and autocratic power of the president.



## EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE

THE DECISION of the Supreme Court sustaining the action of the immigration authorities in deporting Turner, the English anarchist, will meet the approval of the public. Of course, there is great risk in limiting freedom of opinion on any subject; but to this, as to everything else, the interests of orderly society set a limit. The open advocacy of the overthrow of all government constitutes a crime against society. Freedom in every direction must necessarily be limited by the interests of society and the security of life and property. The advocates of anarchy should have no place in civilized society.

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DESPITE Russia's early pretensions about the rules of civilized warfare at the beginning of the present war, her laying mines in the open sea is a sample of what might sooner or later be expected. She is a brutal barbarian, and whenever she seems to act on a higher plane, it is from fear or special interest. Russian statesmen are thoroughly conversant with international law. They know that to lay mines ten miles from shore is very much like distributing dynamite bombs on the highway. It was a mere accident that a Japanese vessel struck the mine. It might have been a vessel of any other nation, and it was pretty sure not to be a Russian vessel, because the Tsar's ships have a habit of hugging the ports too closely. It is to be hoped that the neutral nations will take action on this outrage upon civilization.

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IN SELECTING Mr. Cortelyou as chairman of the Republican National Committee, the President has at least hit upon a man whom he can trust. Mr. Cortelyou is a secretary in



all the senses of the word. He was the private secretary of President McKinley, and then filled the same office under President Roosevelt; and, as Secretary of the Department of Commerce, still remains practically a private secretary. He is a man who can be trusted to carry out the plans and orders of his superiors; and, as President Roosevelt evidently intends to run his own campaign, Mr. Cortelyou is pre-eminently the right man for the chairmanship of the National Committee. Men of really strong character, accustomed to managing large affairs, can seldom put on rigid harness and work under strict orders. This may explain why so many experienced men have declined the chairmanship.

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A NEW scheme has just been devised in California for amending the Chinese Exclusion Act. It will be remembered that this law was passed especially to please California, but a certain class of fruit-growers and farmers in California want to admit the Chinese, so as to procure cheap labor. The new scheme is to permit Chinese laborers to come to the country, but to forbid them going to the cities, and permit them to remain only from three to four years.

This is the worst botched effort to get cheap labor yet announced. If the Chinese, or any other immigrants, are fit to come to the country at all, they are fit to have the full benefit of all the conditions the country affords. If they are not fit to enter our cities, and not fit to stay more than five years, and not fit to be citizens, they are not fit to come to the country at all. Any industry that can not prosper without recourse to such methods can very well be spared.

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GOVERNOR LA FOLLETTE, who is making a schism in his party in Wisconsin, very loudly asserts that he is in thorough accord with the policy of President Roosevelt on the tariff. La Follette is a pronounced representative of the



Iowa idea. He wants to put all "trust" products on the free list. With the idea that all large corporations are "trusts," this would mean the removal of the tariff duties from the leading manufactures of the country. For some time the President coquetted with this notion, until the friends of protection were nearly ready to break away from him. It has been confidently announced by men like Senator Aldrich that Mr. Roosevelt has modified his ideas and got into line.

It would be interesting to know the real facts. If Governor La Follette is really in harmony with Roosevelt, Roosevelt is not in harmony with the protection ideas of the party. Who is bluffing, La Follette or the President? This question should be answered frankly before midsummer. There are many good Republicans who would as soon have Parker as Roosevelt, if the latter is in entire harmony with La Follette on the tariff.

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UNLESS some question arising out of the war takes possession of English politics, it is clear that the issue of the next general election will be the tariff. The Chamberlain movement for a protective policy is making steady headway. It has now become a question upon which the re-organization of the political parties is taking place. The Unionists, who were mostly Liberals joined the Tories on the Irish question, and are largely free-traders. A considerable number of manufacturers, who have been stanch Liberals have become reluctantly convinced that free trade is a failure.

The free-traders have most to gain by a quick decision, because national prejudice and tradition is on their side. The protectionists have most to gain by a waiting policy, because they are engaged in an educational propaganda, and the longer the general election can be delayed, the better will be their chances. The free-traders tried to force the issue a few days ago, but, with the aid of Chamberlain, Mr.



Balfour saved the day, with a majority of 55. Whatever may be the outcome of the next general election, the tariff fight is on in England, and it will not down until the free trade policy is greatly modified, if not abandoned.

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BY A VOTE of 427 to 95, the French Chamber of Deputies has endorsed the action taken by the French government in recalling its representative at the Vatican. This tells the story of the real attitude of the French government toward the Holy See as a factor in politics. To emphasize this further, Premier Combes said: "We can not allow the Holy See to interpret the presence of our ambassador in Rome in a sense favorable to its claims, or to make use of his presence to justify pretensions that we reject. We will not allow the Papacy to intermeddle in our international relations, and we intend to have done, once for all, with the superannuated fiction of temporal power, which disappeared thirty-four years ago."

This is the frankest talk the Vatican has heard from France since the days of Bonaparte. But it should not be surprising to anybody. If the present Pope is half the statesman that Leo XIII was, he will avoid a conflict with the French people on this point, for so sure as he forces an issue he will lose. If he is too blind to see this, then he is in danger of hastening the further loss of his own power. The sooner the Church recognizes the obvious fact that its field of operation is within the church, and not in the sphere of politics, the better it will be for the Church.

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IN HIS LETTER to Mr. Root, which was read at the dinner celebrating the anniversary of the Cuban Republic, President Roosevelt gave this piece of paternal warning to the world:

If a nation shows that it knows how to act with decency in industrial and political matters, if it keeps order and pays



its obligations, then it need fear no interference from the United States. Brutal wrongdoing, or an impotence which results in a general loosening of the ties of civilized society, may finally require intervention by some civilized nation, and in the Western Hemisphere the United States can not ignore its duty.

While this was probably intended as a warning to Cuba and to other Latin-American States to the south of us that they must behave themselves according to the President's views, or expect intervention,—and perhaps annexation,—it was practically serving notice on the world that we are the guardians of this hemisphere.

Of course Europe will not take this too seriously. Foreign governments will probably treat it as they did Mr. Cleveland's blustering challenge in the Venezuela matter. They know that, at the worst, Mr. Roosevelt can not be President very long. Nevertheless, this is clearly the spirit of the "man on horseback," which, if it should become the policy of the United States, would soon get us into endless difficulties.

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THE COMMISSION of Immigration at Ellis Island is about to put into force a new rule regarding the admission of immigrants. This rule is that immigrants must have in their possession on arrival a certain sum of money. In other words, penniless immigrants will not be admitted. This is an excellent rule. If it is not sustained by the law, it ought to be. The reason for issuing this order is that during the last year many immigrants have had to be deported to prevent their becoming public charges.

The amount of money required by Commissioner Williams, however, is too small. It has long been apparent that, for many reasons, immigrants should be required to have at least the equivalent of six months' wages. It is not enough that they should be able to pay their expenses at a cheap boarding house for a week or two. No immi-



grant should be permitted to land who has not at least \$250. If this were definitely known, and all were deported who did not have this, paupers would not attempt to come. The immigrants would be of an altogether superior type. Under this rule, only those who were thrifty enough to save \$300 would attempt to come to this country, and anybody who could save that amount in Europe, would have the material in him for becoming an enterprising citizen here. It is high time that the system of dumping penniless people upon this country be stopped.

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IN THE "Commoner" for May 28 Mr. Bryan's leading editorial is devoted to Democracy and socialism. He explains that many papers are charging the Democracy, as at present organized, as socialistic. In reply, he raises the counter-charge that the "trusts" are doing more to promote socialism than is the Democratic party. This is simply evading the question by saying, "you are another."

Mr. Bryan usually speaks fairly and frankly, but on this question he takes a whole page to chase the devil around the stump, and if one had to judge the Democratic party by Mr. Bryan's defense, he should be compelled to vote it guilty of the charge. The simple truth of the matter, however, is that the Democratic party, under Mr. Bryan's leadership, is a party arrayed against every form of success in any industry conducted by corporation. It opposes protection, it opposes corporations, and it opposes railroads and banks as private enterprises, and by implication favors government ownership. It frankly advocates government ownership of banks and telegraph, and, by inference, of railroads. All this may be a sort of campaign bluff. Traditionally, it must be admitted, the Democratic party stands for extreme individualism, which is the antithesis of socialism; but, if it is to be judged by the speeches of its leaders, like Bryan and Hearst, and its spokesmen in the Senate and a large por-



tion of its press, it must be found guilty of contributing largely to the socialistic propaganda, whether or not it accepts the doctrine of socialism. A party may be properly judged by what it does, rather than what it pretends; and, from that point of view, Mr. Bryan's Democracy is socialistic.

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PUBLIC sentiment in the South against lynching is rapidly increasing. Only a short while ago the officers of the law rescued a negro murderer from a mob, and he had a speedy trial and was promptly hanged. The law was vindicated and the would-be lynchers defeated. The Governor of Mississippi recently distinguished himself by rescuing a negro from a mob, with similar result.

In his inaugural address, Governor Blanchard of Louisiana made this significant announcement on the subject:

Mob law in contravention and defiance of law will not be tolerated. Lynching will not be permitted under any circumstances if it be possible for the military at the command of the Governor to prevent it. Sheriffs will be held to the strictest accountability possible under the law for the safety from mob violence of persons in their custody.

If the Governors and law-officers will take this stand throughout the South, lynching will soon be under a ban, and if it is not abolished, it will be regarded and punished as a crime.

The censure of the South as to lynching is not that lynching actually occurs in certain circumstances, but that it is tacitly encouraged by public sentiment. There is no doubt that the prompt execution of the law against the class of criminals to which lynching is applied would be much more effective than mob law. Say what we may, mob law encourages lynchings, and, while there are cases where it is more effective than orderly procedure, in the long run, it is destructive of order and respect of law and generally de-



moralizing to the community. It gives encouragement to the lawless element from which no community is entirely free.

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IN DISCUSSING the probabilities of Democratic success in the coming national election, the New York "Times" says: "The country would willingly turn from the hasty, disturbing, ill-considered, and somewhat autocratic policies of Roosevelt to enjoy a season of safety and tranquillity under a wise, tried, and experienced Executive like Grover Cleveland."

What may we not hear next? That the country would gladly be freed "from the hasty, disturbing, ill-considered, and somewhat autocratic policies of Roosevelt," may be frankly admitted; but to expect "safety and tranquillity" from the policy of Grover Cleveland is to expect a miracle. It would be just as reasonable to expect Roosevelt to become a McKinley, as to expect Cleveland to be anything but a disturber of the nation's tranquillity and prosperity.

As disturbers, Roosevelt and Cleveland are very much alike. They are both opinionated, autocratic, and reckless in doing everything to which they set their hands. In his dictatorial attitude toward Congress and in his high-handed policy abroad President Roosevelt has seemed to imitate Cleveland. Was there ever in this country a more reckless performance than Cleveland's foolhardy attitude toward England in the Venezuela matter? If the responsible statesmen of England had not known that his blustering insult did not represent the spirit and feeling of the American people, but was a mere stage-play for campaign purposes, it might easily have thrown us into war with Great Britain. For "hasty, disturbing, ill-considered," wrong headed rashness this has no equal in our history; and, as a disturber of business, twenty Roosevelts rolled into one could not equal Cleveland.

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THE RECENT experience with the tariff on coal conclusively demonstrates the truth of the principle of tariff incidents repeatedly set forth in these pages, namely, that in some cases the duty is all paid by the domestic consumers, in some cases partly by the foreign, and in some cases it is all paid by the foreigners. Coal is a sample of the last. During the coal strike, a howl was made about the protection to the coal monopoly, and persecution to the coal consumers by the tariff on coal, and it was temporarily removed. The removal of the duty did not cheapen coal to the consumer by the fraction of a cent. At the expiration of the temporary removal the duty went on again and the price remained unchanged. The simple fact was that when the duty was taken off the coal, the Nova Scotia coal miners raised the price correspondingly and when the duty went on, they reduced the price by the amount of the duty. The removal of the duty was an addition to the Nova Scotia mine owners' profits, and putting back the duty was a contribution to the United States treasury out of the profits of the foreign coal mine owners.

The reason for this is very simple. It is that the price of any commodity is determined by the cost of furnishing the dearest portion continuously needed. When that dearest portion continuously needed is in this country, the prices are fixed in this country, and the tariff in such cases is all paid by the foreigners. The dearest portion of the supply of coal continuously needed is in this country and therefore the price is fixed in this country, and the tariff on coal is consequently all paid by foreigners and the free coal is simply an addition to the foreign coal miners' profits at the expense of the American treasury.



## QUESTION BOX

### Cabinet Officers to Electioneer for Roosevelt

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir: According to the newspapers, each member of President Roosevelt's Cabinet is to go on the stump and make at least one speech in the interest of the re-election of his chief. It is supposed that this is by request of the President, or because it is well known that he desires such partizan activity on the part of his appointees.

Is not this a degradation of the position of a Cabinet officer? In England the members of the cabinet are also members of the legislative branch of the government, and are therefore responsible to the people, and must appeal to the voters for their own and their party's re-election. In this country the position of the Cabinet officer is independent. He is responsible to no one except the President. It seems, therefore, a partizan and a wanton humiliation of the post to compel members of the Cabinet to go to the hustings in behalf of the President.

B. W. H.

Washington, D. C., June 7.

There is no reason why a member of the Cabinet, or any other office-holder, should not make speeches in a general election, or perform any other duty of citizenship, provided that in so doing he does not neglect his own duty; but there are abundant reasons why appointed public officials should not be under obligation to make speeches. If it is true, as our correspondent suggests, that this speech-making by Cabinet officers is at the request of the President, it is only another evidence of the extent to which he is using his official power to compass his own election. It would not have been surprising had every office-holder under McKinley been required to go on the stump, attend caucuses, and be



delegates to conventions; but Mr. Roosevelt's conspicuous denunciation of that sort of thing makes his exceptional energy in his own behalf the more surprising.

All this tends to destroy public confidence in reformers and to strengthen the popular belief that, after all, the regular, practical politician is freer from cheap pretense, and, in the long run, more to be trusted with great affairs than those who prate too much of their own virtue.

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### **Value of Gold in Coin Not Affected by Free Coinage**

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir: In your April number, the reviewer of Professor Seager's "Introduction to Economics" expresses the opinion that I would hardly endorse the author's statement on page 314, that "the value of gold coin is prevented from exceeding the value of gold in such coin by the policy of free and gratuitous gold coinage."

Your reviewer seems to have the impression that Dr. Seager is here inculcating the fallacy that coinage adds value to gold bullion, whereas he is merely stating the almost self-evident truth that the value of a coin can never differ from the value of the bullion it contains so long as free coinage is permitted. On the one side, the melting pot prevents the bullion from being worth more than the coin; on the other side, freedom of coinage prevents the coin from being worth more than the bullion. This parity between coin and the bullion would be disturbed if free coinage were suspended. For example, if the United States should repeal the law permitting the free coinage of gold, not many months would pass before the gold eagle would be worth more than 258 grains of uncoined standard gold, for the increasing monetary demand would not be met by an increase in the supply of money.

I fully endorse Dr. Seager's theory of money, but not his modest statement that I am to be credited with its merits.

JOS. FRENCH JOHNSON.

New York University, New York, May 9, 1904.



Professor Johnson is mistaken in assuming that the reviewer had "the impression that Dr. Seager is here inculcating the policy that coinage adds value to the gold bullion." A more careful reading of the review would have shown that nothing of the kind was thought of, but just the contrary, as the passage he quoted (page 314) clearly shows; namely: That "the value of gold coin is *prevented from exceeding the value of the gold in such coin* by the policy of free and gratuitous gold coinage." There is nothing ambiguous in this statement. It can have but one meaning, that free coinage prevents the value of gold coin from rising above the value of the bullion.

Now this is precisely what free coinage never does. No coinage, free or restricted, has that effect, and never can. This is the error to which we called attention, and thought it could not have received the endorsement of Professor Johnson. In this, however, we were wrong, for he has manifestly fallen into the same error as his *protégé*.

It should be remembered that, in speaking of the coinage of gold, we are speaking of the standard coin. There are no conditions under which the value of a standard coin can ever rise above the value of the metal of which it is made. Take, for instance, the American gold dollar or the English sovereign. At the American mint, an ounce of gold is made into \$20.68; and at the English mint, an ounce of gold is made into 3 pounds, 17 shillings, and 10½ pence. How can free coinage affect the relative value of the gold in either of these cases, when the one will always exchange for the equivalent of the other? Suppose, as Professor Johnson suggests, the free coinage of gold was suspended and there should be a scarcity in the supply of money. That would not, as he thinks, make "the gold eagle worth more than 258 grains of uncoined standard gold." The only effect the scarcity of money would have would be to reduce prices by increasing the purchasing



power of the dollar; but that would not apply to gold, because the same number of grains of gold would anywhere buy what the dollar, eagle, or sovereign would buy. The scarcity of money may produce one of two effects; (a) raise the rate of the interest, and thus make it more expensive to procure money for business purposes; or (b) increase the value of money, which is expressed only in the general fall of prices.

The mere raising of the rate of interest would in no way affect the value of coin as compared with gold, nor of gold as compared with other articles. It would simply make investment for productive purposes more expensive. The increase in the value of the gold coin does reduce the value of other commodities; but a rise of prices through the appreciation in the value of money never applies to the material of which the standard money is made. In single gold-standard countries, a rise in the value of money always means the rise in the value of gold, for the simple and obvious reason, that the uncoined gold will buy anything that the coined gold will buy. In trade transactions between countries coin is seldom used. International balances are settled by means of gold bars, and not gold coin; and when the actual coin is shipped, it is weighed and not counted. In other words, it is the actual weight of the coinage, and not its numerical value that counts. To say, therefore, that restricting the coinage would make "the eagle worth more than 258 grains of uncoined standard gold" is absurd. An ounce of gold will always buy as much in any part of the world as will \$20.68 or £3, 17s., 10½d.

To have gold coin rise and gold bullion fall is an economic impossibility. The one conspicuous fact in the appreciation of money and the fall of prices, is that gold does not fall with the fall in the value of wheat, cotton, and general products, and the reason is that it is the stuff of which the money is made. What Professor Seager and Pro-



fessor Johnson apparently had in mind is the movement of coin and bullion values under a double standard; but even then what Professor Johnson says would not occur. The 258 grains of the gold in the eagle would not be worth more than 258 grains of uncoined gold. It has sometimes occurred that, with two legal tender coins, both having free coinage, as in this country prior to 1873, the bullion in one of the dollars is worth more than the bullion in the other; and *vice versa*. In these circumstances, the cheaper metal will drive the dearer out of circulation. The only conditions under which the coin can be worth more than the bullion of which it is made, is where there is a secondary legal tender coin, the coinage of which is limited, as is the case at present with our silver dollars. But this is never true of the standard coin under a single standard. There is not power enough in any or all governments to make a standard coin worth more than the bullion of which it is made.

The reason gold coin does not exceed the value of the gold in such coin is not free coinage, but because gold is the standard of value. Therefore, in saying "the value of gold coin is prevented from exceeding the value of gold in such coin by the policy of free and gratuitous gold coinage," Professor Seager was entirely in error. He may have thought, and Professor Johnson may think, that he was stating an "almost self-evident truth," but he was not. He gave the wrong reason for an obvious fact, and the greatest surprise of all is, that Professor Johnson endorses the error.



## BOOK REVIEWS

THE SLAV INVASION. By Frank Julian Warne, Ph. D. Cloth; 211 pages. \$1 net. J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia and London.

In this little book the author discusses the question of immigration into the mining fields of Pennsylvania. While treating the problem as affecting the coal fields in general, it deals also specifically with the incoming of the Slav. The author tells us that his material was gathered at first-hand while at work in the coal regions as a newspaper correspondent during the strikes of 1900 and 1902.

Newspaper correspondents are seldom good students of economic conditions. They are usually too much bent upon procuring sensational news and writing it up to match lurid headlines to observe impartially the working of economic conditions, and strikes furnish the worst of all conditions for such a study. To be sure, a strike brings out some features, often the worst, of the working life of the laborers, and particularly the miners. Indeed an extended strike, including half a million of laborers, so protracted as to jeopard the fuel supply of the nation and become the chief theme of public discussion, necessarily furnishes the most abnormal conditions imaginable, and many phases of the miners' life will be exhibited that would not easily be observed otherwise. On the other hand, many of the more orderly conditions of the laborers' life can not be observed under these conditions. To study the economic conditions of coal miners under an extraordinary strike is very much like studying the social conditions of a people in a state of civil war, when all the ordinary avocations of life are suspended. Since it was under just these conditions that Mr.



Warne studied the Slav immigration and its effect in Pennsylvania, it would not be surprising if this gave some color to his account. It would be surprising were it otherwise. It is very evident, however, that the author was conscious of this fact and tried hard to avoid the bias that might naturally rise from such circumstances.

The chief point and purpose of the author's task is to show that, during the last twenty years the character of immigration has radically changed, which all students of the subject well know. This change is the substitution of the Slav for the English-speaking peoples, to the greatest detriment of the character of the population in the coal-mining regions.

The author then proceeds to discuss the question of the influence of this upon American citizenship. This, he points out, is going to depend upon the ability to assimilate this Russian-Pole-Hungarian population. If it is not assimilated by American population and dominated by American habits, sentiment, and social character, it will become the dominant influence in our great coal-mining population, to the detriment alike of the economic conditions, social character, and political institutions of the country. This work of assimilation, Mr. Warne thinks, is the task for the Mine-workers' Union to accomplish, and he devotes considerable space to show that it is doing its work remarkably well. He shows by abundant facts that before the existence of the Mine-workers' Union, the Pennsylvania miners, especially in the anthracite field, were largely divided as to nationality. This the Mine-workers' Union has done much to eradicate, and it has welded the miners into one mass on the basis of their economic interests.

Mr. Warne thinks the potent fact behind this national prejudice was really the "conflict of standards of living," which is unquestionably true. The real dislike of the English-speaking laborers for the Slav and Hungarian is not



so much for their nationality as for their inferior standard of living, which both enable and induce them to work for lower wages than the Teutonic or English-speaking laborers, whose standard of living and ideas of life and liberty, are high as compared with that of the Russians and Poles. The Mine-workers have undoubtedly done much to bridge this chasm by getting them all into one union.

In the strikes of 1900 and 1902, the Union demanded the same conditions for the Slav and Latin workers as was demanded by the English-speaking laborers, although, if left to themselves they would have been content with poorer conditions. In fact, this was one of the criticisms of the unions that many of the miners were willing to accept less than the unions demanded and were content with many conditions against which the unions protested; and the employers and even the press complained that making the demand for all the workers was an infringement on the liberties of those who would willingly accept less. Of course, the other side of this position, which the union both felt and saw, was that, if these Slavs and Latins were permitted to accept the lower terms, the others would be compelled to do likewise. Thus, by insisting that the poorest should have the maximum, they secured the higher rate for the English-speaking portion of the population, which was really making the demand for, and really needed, the advance.

On the whole, the book is a defense of the Mine-workers' Union, which the author thinks is the only power capable of dealing with the task of assimilating this Slav population. His whole view of the subject is summed up as follows:

Whatever nationality is to dominate the industry, a standard of living conformable to American conditions should be enforced upon the workers as well as upon capi-



tal. This is possible under present conditions only through such an organization as the United Mine-workers of America.

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SOPHISMS OF FREE TRADE AND POPULAR POLITICAL ECONOMY EXAMINED. By Sir John Barnard Byles, Justice of the Court of Common Pleas. With introduction by William Samuel Lilly, LL. M., and Charles Stanton Devas, M. A. John Lane, London and New York. 1904. Cloth; 387 pages.

This work was published by Sir John Barnard Byles in 1849, when the free trade movement in England was at its zenith. At that time Cobden was the economic pope of England, and to question the wisdom of his economic tenets was to invite contempt and ridicule, if not ostracism. Yet Mr. Byle, who was a man of high legal standing, not only ventured to think that free trade was largely built upon half developed postulates and unscientific reasoning, but made a fearless yet calm and scientific criticism of the chief propositions presented by the free trade advocates. His views are to be found in this book, which is republished with introduction and notes chiefly by Mr. Charles Stanton Devas, who, it should be said at the outset, is himself an economist of the most modern and liberal type. He is really an eclectic in economics and has an eminently broad, logical mind with humane sympathies untainted by dogmatism. The introduction is an able analysis of the whole subject and is itself worth the price of the book.

The chief value of Mr. Byles's work is the criticism of the free trade doctrine as written and presented at the time the Manchester theory was the accepted dogma, and to question it was to be labeled an ignoramus. The book is devoted to the examination of thirty-six propositions advocated by the free trade propagandists and to each of these Mr. Byles devotes a chapter. Among the propositions are:



"buy in the cheapest market," "protected manufactures are sickly," "protection would destroy external trade," "importation is the source of plenty, protection of scarcity," "higher wages will increase the population" (and are, therefore, bad), and "other nations will follow our example of free trade."

In dealing with these propositions, Mr. Byles is strikingly successful. The effective way in which he makes the most of them obviously empty is quite extraordinary. His criticisms are free from partizan fire and political intimidation. Every criticism, although made in 1849 in England, has been verified by the experience of the United States, and many of them by the experience of England during the last ten or a dozen years.

Take, for example, the proposition that "protected manufactures are sickly." This was a dogmatic assertion of the Manchester school. They as confidently predicted failure for all industries that needed protection. For the answer to this now manifestly false proposition we have only to point to Pittsburg, Paterson, Fall River, and other manufacturing centers. Indeed it is the chief complaint of the belated followers of Cobden in this country that the protected industries have ceased to be "infants," and have become mastodons.

The proposition that "protection would destroy external trade" (chapter 10) has also failed of proof. Our foreign trade, under protection, is rapidly increasing every year, and the English manufacturers and statesmen are in a state of serious disturbance over the fact that England's "external trade" is relatively on the decline, and the leaders of the administration are attributing the decline to free trade.

If any proof were needed of the fallacy of the proposition that "free importation is the source of plenty, protection of scarcity," this country has furnished abundance. The



periods of plenty in this country have always been the periods of protection, and the periods of scarcity those of the efforts to destroy protection and establish free trade. If free importation meant the free distribution of products, it might be the source of plenty; and if protection meant the restriction of products, it might be the cause of scarcity, but no person acquainted with the subject has any such silly notion. Free importation would enable producers in other countries to sell their goods in our market, and thereby displace American goods, which would mean that the goods to be used by Americans would have to be made abroad, and thus give employment to foreigners instead of Americans. Thus, it does not mean plenty; but it may, and often does, mean scarcity.

Protection, rationally applied, means not scarcity but securing opportunities to American investments and the employment of labor to produce the goods consumed by America, and so give employment and wages and the wherewithal to buy products. The very ability to buy the products is the cause of abundant production, and thus protection, instead of leading to scarcity, in this country ever led to plenty. This country is conspicuous among the nations of the world for its adherence to protection and it is still more conspicuous for its prosperity.

In chapter 20, Mr. Byles deals with the proposition that higher wages will increase population. The theory of the English economists was that the only cause of poverty among the poor is the increase of population and that higher wages induced more numerous and earlier marriages, and therefore, increased the poverty of the poor. Therefore, low wages was the remedy for poverty, as low wages would prevent marriages and tend to decrease the population. A more inhumane economic doctrine was never promulgated in the interest of civilization; yet they truly believed in low wages; and advocates of free trade in this country believe



in low wages, and some of them are even bold enough to advocate the reduction of wages.

The prophecy of the Cobden apostles was that "other nations will follow our example of free trade." They insisted that if England would only adopt free trade the beneficial results would be so obvious and so overwhelming that no nation would longer defend the crude and barbarous system of protection. Unfortunately for the theory and the school, this prophecy was never fulfilled. No other nations followed England's example, and today Balfour and Chamberlain's demand for the return to protection is largely based upon the failure of that prophecy.

It can hardly be said that Mr. Byles has made a permanent contribution to protection theory, but he has, with exceptional success, punctured more free trade sophistries than any other single writer. American citizens, who are at all in doubt upon the subject, and who are asked to vote to disturb the protective policy of the United States next November, could not do better than to read this book, because it is entirely free from political partizanship. It was written in England in 1849, and, therefore, is far enough removed to be entirely free from any American prejudices. It is a clear, logical, scientific, and judicial examination of more of the claims of free trade than can be found in any other single book. Messrs. Lilly and Devas have rendered a useful service to the political education in republishing it at this time.

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A GUIDE TO THE BIRDS OF NEW ENGLAND AND EASTERN NEW YORK: Containing a key for each season and short descriptions of over two hundred and fifty species with particular reference to their appearance in the field. By Ralph Hoffman. With four page plates by L. A. Fuertes and nearly one hundred cuts. Cloth; 350 pages, with an Index. Houghton, Mifflin, and Company, Boston and New York.



The increasing interest in nature on the part of the reading public and among all out-of-the-city dwellers, and the widespread and genuine love of nature manifest on every side, is one of the most encouraging signs of modern life. It represents part of the ethical advance of the race, which has up to quite recent times looked upon nature merely as a prey. In nothing is this increasing interest in nature made more apparent than in the love of bird life. This is clearly shown by the large number of useful and attractive books that are continually issuing in flocks from the press.

In the book under consideration, Mr. Hoffman leads the lover of birds along new woodland paths, and with him as a guide the veriest amateur will be able to distinguish most of the birds of New England and New York and even as far south as the Potomac. No other writer that we can recall has been so happy in describing the ordinary appearance, coloration, and song of the various birds. This is particularly valuable to the beginner who can not distinguish the delicate markings that are easily seen by the ornithologist.

Mr. Hoffman says in his introductory remarks: "There is something infectious in the enthusiasm of a student of birds. To hear him talk about the excitement of seeing a new bird, to read his account of it, or, best of all, to go afield with him on a May morning, is often enough to awaken a new interest, which enriches life to a surprising degree." "Enthusiasm's the best thing, only we can't command it;" but Mr. Hoffman not only has the enthusiasm, but is able to impart it to his readers. Nothing indeed can be more delightful than an excursion into the woods with Mr. Hoffman's book as a guide and with a good pair of opera glasses as an aid in studying the birds. Mr. Hoffman's book, by reason of its special adaptation to the needs of beginners and of its system for distinguishing the various birds, is both original and indispensable.



In works of this kind the field is usually too restricted. In order to make a general study of the birds of this country, or even of the birds east of the Mississippi, it would be necessary to have quite a number of bird books. This is expensive and really unnecessary. It would be comparatively simple to include in a book, even devoted to the birds of New England and Eastern New York, some account of the birds farther south and a little farther west; so that one would be able to recognize his feathery friends whether he sees them in Massachusetts, New York, Ohio, Maryland, or South Carolina. All that the beginner, or even quite an advanced observer and lover of nature, really needs is a general book that would serve to inform him as to the more common kinds of birds throughout the country east of the Mississippi. It would not be necessary to treat the robin in every latitude of his long range; but, in dealing with the robin, it could easily be shown where he is in different parts of the year; and so on with other birds, noting their migrations and their changes in color.

To take an illustration from Mr. Hoffman's book, the mocking-bird—the most delightful and most richly-gifted singer of America and possibly of the world—is barely mentioned. He is dealt with as a "rare visitant in Southern New England and the lower Hudson Valley." There is no hint as to the region that he honors with his long residence and incomparable song. Lanier calls him "the trim Shakspeare of the wood," and while one may question the aptness of the epithet—the mocking-bird being so lyric as to challenge comparison with Keats or Shelley rather than with the profound Shakspeare—the comparison is just to the extent that it places this singer above every other chanter of the groves. The same objection could be had to Mr. Hoffman's treatment of the cardinal, and indeed to many of the other well-known birds of our country.

This defect is made up in part by a map giving the life-



zones of birds; but this covers only the region from Long Island to the north of Maine. The keys for the different seasons are also very helpful; but the need of some more general treatment of the migration of birds at different seasons and in different months is felt in reading this book, as in reading nearly all books devoted to birds.

Perhaps no book on birds recently published will be found of more interest to the beginner, and perhaps no book has been published at any time that will be a better guide for his excursions in the woods.

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I: IN WHICH A WOMAN TELLS THE TRUTH ABOUT HERSELF. Cloth; 363 pages. \$1.50. D. Appleton & Co., New York.

The personal pronoun, which is chosen as the title of this book, seems to convey an implication as to the veracity of the gentle sex. The anonymous author would evidently put as a general title to books written by other women an "L" in front and an "E" after the "I." In a foreword she asks the question if it is possible for a woman to write the truth about herself; and seems to answer it pretty definitely in the negative. It would be perhaps invidious to say that if the "truth" were no more interesting and "gripping" than it is in this book, most of the fair authors would prefer fiction.

This is not saying that this novel is not interesting—the criticism is relative. It might have been made a great deal more interesting if, in writing a book confessedly in the class of fiction, the author had stuck to her professional instincts and steered clear of some very commonplace and uninteresting "truth."

"I," Sidney of the book, is a girl—an appropriation of a stern masculine name that may be resented by some male readers—clever but plain. She discovers her plainness through the eyes of her college mates. It seems to be one



of the aims of the author to avoid any taint of coquettishness on the part of her heroine, although the affair with Kimball the millionaire flavors of something of the sort. The excuse is Sidney's desire to aid the interest of her husband, and to the author this probably seems an ethical justification. Kimball is the conventional millionaire and thinks his money can purchase anything. In order that some of his money may be diverted into paths likely to help her husband, Sidney is willing to have him believe she cares for him. An insulting proposal from him takes her entirely by surprise and shows her the danger of the relation. This is as near to French wickedness as the author will come. It is to be hoped it is as near as the "truth" would permit.

In her flight from the millionaire Sidney injures herself and is nursed by Dr. Kirke and his sisters. This incident gives another turn to the story. The husband loses his money and dies, and Sidney, of course, marries Dr. Kirke.

The story while not of absorbing interest, either as a straightaway novel, or as dealing with a stirring human problem, is made interesting by reason of its vivacious style and its ease of telling.



## PROGRESS OF THE MONTH

### **The Political Situation**

Even on the eve of the Republican National Convention, there is no practical change in the political situation. The Republican Convention will merely register what has already been determined upon by Mr. Roosevelt, that is, his own nomination. Never in the history of the country has there been any political program so entirely formulated, prepared, and laid by for use as the one to be gone through with at Chicago. There is no enthusiasm in the party; and, on the other hand, there is a very evident desire that some one else could be nominated in the place of Mr. Roosevelt. This situation can not be gratifying to Mr. Roosevelt; but it can not fail to be recognized.

The Democrats, whose convention is still three weeks distant, are not yet decided upon their leader. Judge Parker still leads by a good margin, but has not enough delegates to be nominated on the first ballot. Mr. Hearst comes next in the number of instructed delegates, but with not enough to make him dangerous on the first roll call. The only names prominently mentioned for the nomination are Parker, Hearst, Olney, McClellan, Cleveland, Gorman, and Gray. In spite of his own repeated assertions, Mr. Cleveland is still regarded by his friends as a possible nominee. It seems likely that after the first or second ballot there will be a regrouping of delegates, and it is not at all an impossibility that in this regrouping both Parker and Hearst may find their adherents flocking into other camps. There is, however, a general feeling that Parker has the best chance of nomination.

The approach of the party conventions, and the increasing distrust and distaste for Mr. Roosevelt has unquestionably improved the Democratic situation. A good conservative platform, with a good conservative man upon it—a man like Olney or Parker—would, in the opinion of many political leaders of both parties, have an excellent chance of success.



**Republican Platform  
of 1904**

The Republican Convention at Chicago adopted its national platform on June 22. It claims for the Republican party credit for the prosperity of the country, the establishment of the gold standard, the liberation of Cuba, the securing of peace and prosperity for Puerto Rico, the suppression of insurrection and the establishment of order and security in the Philippines, the route for an Isthmian canal, legislation to rescue the arid lands of this country, the re-organization and higher efficiency of the army, the improvement and support of the militia, the further development of the navy, an honest administration of the government, and the fearless enforcement by a Republican president of laws enacted by the Republican party "intended for the protection of the public against the unjust discrimination or the illegal encroachment of vast aggregations of capital."

A summary of the principal features of the platform follows:

Protection, which guards and develops our industries, is a cardinal policy of the Republican party. The measure of protection should always at least equal the difference in the cost of production at home and abroad. We insist upon the maintenance of the principles of protection, and therefore rates of duty should be readjusted only when conditions have so changed that the public interest demands their alteration, but this work can not safely be committed to any other hands than those of the Republican party. To intrust it to the Democratic party is to invite disaster.

We have extended widely our foreign markets, and we believe in the adoption of all practicable methods for their further extension, including commercial reciprocity wherever reciprocal arrangements can be effected consistent with the principles of protection and without injury to American agriculture, American labor, or any American industry.

We believe it to be the duty of the Republican party to uphold the gold standard and the integrity and value of our national currency. The maintenance of the gold standard, established by the Republican party, can not safely be committed to the Democratic party, which resisted its adoption and has never given any proof since that time of belief in it or fidelity to it.

While every other industry has prospered under the fostering aid of Republican legislation, American shipping, engaged in foreign trade in competition with the low cost of construction, low wages, and heavy



subsidies of foreign governments, has not for many years received from the Government of the United States adequate encouragement of any kind. We therefore favor legislation which will encourage and build up the American merchant marine.

We favor such Congressional action as shall determine whether by special discriminations the elective franchise in any State has been unconstitutionally limited, and, if such is the case, we demand that representation in Congress and in the Electoral Colleges shall be proportionally reduced as directed by the Constitution of the United States.

Combinations of capital and of labor are the results of the economic movement of the age, but neither must be permitted to infringe upon the rights and interests of the people. Such combinations when lawfully formed for lawful purposes are alike entitled to the protection of the laws, but both are subject to the laws, and neither can be permitted to break them.

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**Mr. Roosevelt and  
Political Converts**

Mr. Roosevelt's action in selecting Mr. Cortelyou for the chairmanship of the Republican National Committee and Mr. Paul Morton as Secretary of the Navy seems to indicate a decided break with the "stalwarts" and veteran leaders of his party. It also shows a predilection for neophytes. Mr. Cortelyou, according to reports, has only recently drifted into the Republican camp, and Mr. Paul Morton had become a Republican only six weeks before Mr. Roosevelt offered him the Navy portfolio. In the case of Mr. Cortelyou, Mr. Roosevelt by his choice irritated and insulted the leaders of his party; and the result is clearly seen by the coldness attending the assembling of the delegates in Chicago, and will unquestionably be shown in the voting in November. The offering of the Navy secretaryship to Mr. Morton may be considered as a bait to Gold Democrats to go a step farther and enter the Republican lines. Mr. Morton is the son of J. Sterling Morton, Mr. Cleveland's Secretary of Agriculture, and was a Gold Democrat in 1896. This sort of thing does not endear Mr. Roosevelt to his political associates, and can not compensate him for the loss in Republican ranks by recruits from the Democrats.



**"America" and  
"American"** The Administration has made haste to explain that Secretary Hay's instructions to use the word "American" on the seals of the United States consulates and embassies is neither new nor significant, but is a mere shift in the interest of brevity. It is said there is no intention on the part of this government to claim the sole right to the use of the word "American." This disclaimer, we take it for granted, is to appease the lacerated sensibilities of some dozen or more other governments in the Western Hemisphere that are clearly entitled to use the adjective.

With due respect to the Administration disclaimer, the use of the adjective "American" seems to be not only a deliberate aggression, but a very significant one. It is true that the press and nearly all American writers have used the word as it is used in this sentence, to indicate things of the United States; but a government must be more exact. Even the Tsar or the Kaiser would hesitate to use the adjective "European" over the Russian or German consultates. There would be at once discord in the European concert. There would be discord in the American concert, if Mexico and its dozen or more Latin sisters to the South had enough voice to be heard in one, when Mr. Hay and President Roosevelt calmly appropriate a term that is applicable to two continents and to no one spot on either of them.

The use of the word "American" seems to indicate a deliberate policy upon the part of this government—a policy that is too well-known and justly feared by our neighbors. It very clearly points to a time when "America" will be used to designate the U. S. A., without even the qualification of "North." Indeed, why should there be two "Americas," any more than two Caesar's or two Roosevelt's?

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**Appropriations of the  
last Congress**

The appropriations made by the 58th Congress, as officially announced, make a grand total of \$781,172,375. This shows an increase over the appropriations for 1904 of \$27,113,869. The report shows that 8,415 new offices were created, at an expense of \$5,431,865. The army costs \$77,070,300;



the navy \$97,505,140; the Post-office \$172,545,998; while the pension roll demands \$138,360,700. Besides these direct appropriations, the last Congress authorized contract liabilities aggregating \$22,891,300 of which the navy is credited with \$21,100,000.

**The Slocum Disaster  
in New York**

The burning of the General Slocum in East River, New York, recently was one of the world's greatest catastrophes. The loss of life will amount to nearly one thousand, and the disaster was accompanied by scenes of the most appalling horror. It would seem almost impossible for such loss of life to occur even in a fire in mid-ocean, as the ship's boats would rescue perhaps a larger proportion of the crew, and passengers than were rescued from this steamboat within hailing distance of the shores of Manhattan on the one side and Long Island on the other. It is very probable that gross carelessness, if not gross negligence, were responsible for this great loss of human life. Of course only an investigation can show to what extent the owners of the boat, officers of the ship, and the United States government are responsible.

It seems an unfortunate thing that steamboats of this class are under the direct control of the Federal government. National governments are notoriously indifferent in providing protection to the people, and seldom move unless continually prodded into activity by popular outcries or uprisings. Even if they move, they do so often with fatal deliberation and tardiness. It is quite probable that had the inspection of the General Slocum been the duty of New York officials the condition of that boat would have been better on the day of the disaster and fewer lives would have been sacrificed to red tape or governmental dilatoriness.

It is well that Secretary Cortelyou, on whose department rests the responsibility for the inspection of these boats, has assured the public that he will make a thorough and impartial investigation of this terrible disaster. It would be well also if the inspection of these boats could be taken out of the hands of the government and put into hands that would be more prompt and vigorous.



**France-Holland  
Treaty of Arbitration**

Again France takes an advanced and enlightened position that may well serve as an exemplar to other great powers. The Republic, under the capable leadership of Minister Delcassé, has just made a treaty with the Netherlands by which Holland is treated with all the consideration that she would have received had she been a power of the first magnitude. This is a remarkable thing in modern diplomacy, which usually exacts from the weaker power everything that could be extorted under conditions of actual warfare—witness the spoliation of China and the utter disregard of China's rights and sensibilities by all of the powers of Europe and by America. The *Independance Belge* expresses the hope that the example of France will be followed by England, Germany, and other first-class powers, thus giving to the smaller states a guarantee of peace and safety. This is a groundless hope; for the real military powers of the world, such as Germany, Russia, England, and the United States, have no intention of granting in peace concessions that could not be exacted from them by war.

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**Official War Reports**

Almost every government reserves to itself the privilege of lying about its military movements—as well as other things. It is for this purpose that censors were created—to eliminate unpleasant facts from the reports of correspondents in the field, to doctor these reports by re-spelling disaster into victory, or to manufacture glowing accounts of impossible triumphs. It is an old practise and is not limited to military operations, but is followed in every line of political activity. At the best, all that can be expected of a distressed government or a beaten commander is that unpleasant truth will be withheld as long as possible. When it must be published, it will be minimized, and never admitted in its entirety.

This system of administrative lying has always been one of the cloudy trophies of Russian diplomacy. Not even the Sublime Porte or the Peking chancellery has ever been able to compete with Petersburg in this respect. Russia began the war with two colossal lies: one that Japan had begun hostilities in violation of international law; and the



other that the Japanese were a semi-barbarous people. Prior to the war she was guilty of a colossal lie in pledging her word to evacuate Manchuria, when she clearly intended to hold it. With these brilliant achievements as precedents, Russian generals, admirals, viceroys, and the imperial government itself have found no difficulty in keeping up a brilliant career of unequaled mendacity.

In view of this, it is astonishing to find that the Washington "Post," which cherishes a dimly veiled sympathy for Russian barbarity, should charge that the Japanese are actually suppressing or editing the news from the seat of war. This ridiculous charge received due castigation at the hands of the Japanese Legation in this city, which had no difficulty in showing that the Japanese have, without exception, been prompt in promulgating the truth about every engagement, in the Far East, whether the results were advantageous or disadvantageous to Japan.

Indeed one of the most remarkable things in connection with the present war is the beautiful candor of the Japanese. Whether they win or meet with some accident, or whether the Russians are able to inflict some loss upon them, they have invariably been prompt in publishing the whole truth. This was true with reference to their victories on land and sea, and equally true with regard to their loss of transports in Korea Strait, and of the sinking of the Hatsuse. In fact Petersburg itself depends very largely on Tōkyō for its news from the seat of war. It was from Japanese sources that Russia first learned of the extent of the terrible disasters of the Yalu, Nan-shan, Telissu, Port Arthur, and so on.

The newspaper press of the world is somewhat angry with Japan because the Japanese army does not care to have correspondents in the field. While this makes news-getting a little slow, no one has the right to question the Japanese position, and in fact the reports sent from the field by newspaper correspondents is generally worthless and misleading. The courage and frankness of Japan's attitude in reference to the prompt and full publication of news, whether to her advantage or not, is one of the most surprising as well as one of the most gratifying features of the present war.



**The Russian as a  
Fighter and a Talker**

Time was when the Russian was unquestionably a fighter. He has always been brave, but he has never been a very skilful soldier, although he has done some praiseworthy things under the leadership of such men as Todleben, at Sebastopol, and Suvarov. The truth is that the Russian army has very little to its credit in its many wars of conquest and extermination. Even in defense, and on its own soil, it was never half a match for the Swedish, French, or Polish troops. In the Turkish war the Turks were equal to the Russians in the proportion of one to three. But in every case, the Russians always gave a good account of themselves with respect to physical courage.

In Southey's famous poem on the March to Moscow, he says, that the Russians could fight, if they could not "parley-voo." It seems now that they can parley-voo a little better than they can fight. They began the war with loud boastings about their prowess and power, and denouncing the Japanese as "weaklings" and semi-barbarians, who would soon be pushed into the sea. The Tsar made a silly protest against the Japanese beginning the war without doffing their caps and giving Russia a longer time to get troops into Manchuria. Count Muraviev, Minister of Justice, even violated the decorum of the Peace Conference at The Hague, by charging Japan with a breach of international law, when it was clearly evident to him as to all the world that she was perfectly within her rights in beginning hostilities. General Kuropatkin has issued more proclamations than he has troops, and his plans, as published from Russian sources, are egotistic and bombastic.

In decorating Russians who fought valorously at the battle of Kiu-lien-cheng, the official order told these soldiers that they could tell their children that they had "fought on the hills of Kiu-lien-cheng one against six." Even admitting that this is true (but it is not), it is no great glory for a body of troops to be defeated by six times their number on almost inaccessible hills. The Boers at the Tugela river were able to defeat the attacking English when they had about one to twenty, or one to ten, counting all reserves. This shows that the Russians are infinitely inferior to the



Boers, and that the English are infinitely inferior to the Japanese. The great Russian Bloch wrote a book on the War of the Future to show that in modern times the defense should be something like ten times as strong as the attack; but the actual Russians are not as good fighters as Bloch's imaginary Muscovites. The world will certainly have more respect for Russia when she fights a little more and parley-voos a little less.

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**The Russian Program after Victory** A newspaper of Moscow, which is supposed to speak in an almost inspired manner, has published the program that Russia will follow after defeating Japan. Nothing could be more boastful or ridiculous than this program, in the face of the Russian disasters on sea and land and the ineptitude shown by the Russians from the Tsar down to the humblest private.

According to this program, Russia is to annex Korea, because Korea entering "Russian territory" like a wedge is a source of danger; Formosa is to be taken from Japan and handed back to China, Russia retaining a coaling station and a fortified harbor for its fleets; the large island of Kyushyu, which forms the southernmost of the great islands of the Japanese empire, and upon which is the great seaport of Nagasaki, the naval port of Sasebo whence issued in this war the fleets that have swept the Russian flag from the Pacific, and the impregnable fortress of Moji, which seals to the outside world the inland sea of Japan; and Japan is to have imposed upon it a war indemnity so large as to cripple her for generations, and to include the surrender of all of her war-ships.

The mere fact that any nation could seriously entertain such a program shows its unfitness both for victory and defeat, and is practically a guarantee of disaster.

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**What Japan Is Fighting for** In strong contrast to the Russian program given above are the straitforward and just demands of Japan that led to the clash with Russia. These Japanese proposals were given in an admirably dispassionate speech before the Diet by Baron Komura, Minister of Foreign Affairs. They are as follows:



"1. Mutual engagement to respect the independence and territorial integrity of China and Korea.

"2. Mutual engagement to maintain the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations in China and Korea.

"3. Reciprocal recognition of Japan's preponderating interests in Korea and Russia's special interests in railway enterprises in Manchuria, and mutual recognition of the respective rights of Japan and Russia to take measures necessary for the protection of the above-mentioned interests, so far as they do not conflict with the principle of Article I and Article II.

"4. Recognition by Russia of the exclusive right of Japan to give advice and assistance to Korea in the interests of reform and good government.

"5. Engagement on the part of Russia not to impede the eventual extension of the Korean railway into southern Manchuria so as to connect with the East China and the Shanhaikwan-Nieuchwang lines."

Of course Russia was not prepared to do anything that would have been fair to all parties at interest, because her own program was one of simple brute conquest. Manchuria was but the first step; then Korea, then China, and, ultimately, India and the remainder of Asia. It is fortunate for the civilized world that Japan has, at the right moment, interposed her armed objection to this ambitious program of Russia.

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#### **Russo-Japanese War**

Events have moved more rapidly during the last month. The Japanese armies have won two brilliant victories and a great number of minor skirmishes and have materially advanced their position toward the north in Manchuria, and have begun in serious style the siege of Port Arthur. Both victories were won by Gen. Oku, at Va-fang-ow and Telissu, and at Kin-chau and Nan-shan hill. These two actions, in which the Russians were defeated in the most brilliant manner, are magnificent achievements for the Japanese general and troops. At Nan-shan hill Gen. Oku stormed what were considered impregnable positions and actually inflicted



upon intrenched troops almost as great a loss as were suffered by his storming columns. After this victory, he turned to the north to meet Gen. Stakelberg who was moving to the relief of Port Arthur. The two armies came into touch at Va-fang-ow and Telissu and Gen. Oku succeeded in winning a magnificent victory from an enemy very little inferior in strength to his own forces and occupying fortified positions. The Russian loss in this battle was probably 10,000.

At sea the Japanese have not been so successful. One of their best ships, the Hatsuse was accidentally sunk by a mine and the cruiser Yoshino was sunk in collision by the Kasuga. In the two disasters the Japanese lost some 600 men. The Russian Vladivostok squadron has also succeeded in twice eluding Admiral Kamimura. Two transports, the Idzumi and the Hitachi, were sunk and the Sado was torpedoed, but escaped. In these disasters the Japanese lost probably 1000 men; but on the other hand the Japanese have again bottled up the Vladivostok squadron and have succeeded in more effectually blockading Port Arthur and in repelling Russian naval sorties.

The fighting in Manchuria will now be concentrated around Port Arthur, which may be stormed within the next month, or should fall by seige within a few months; and around Mukden and, later, around Harbin. It seems to be the policy of Gen. Kuropatkin to retreat to Harbin, although he is watching an opportunity to strike a telling blow at the Japanese advance under Gen. Kuroki.

A chronological record of the principal events of the war up to June 17 follows:

#### *PRINCIPLE EVENTS IN THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR*

January 8.—Japan sends a diplomatic note to Russia as to the evacuation of Manchuria and the settlement of other questions.

February 3.—Conference of the "Elder Statesmen" in Tōkyō decides upon the war policy of Japan.

February 6.—Japan withdraws her legation from Petersburg and notifies Russia of the severance of diplomatic relations. The Russian Minister is recalled from Tōkyō.

February 8.—Actual commencement of hostilities. Admiral Togo attacks the Russian fleet and shore batteries at Port Arthur, and sinks



with torpedoes the Russian battleships Tsarevich and Retvizan and the protected cruiser Pallada.

February 9.—Admiral Togo again attacks Port Arthur and the Russian fleet, seriously damaging the battleship Poltava and the cruisers Novik, Diana, and Askold; Admiral Uriu attacks and destroys the Russian cruisers Variag and Korietz at Chemulpho, Korea.

February 10.—The Tsar proclaims war with Japan—The United States approaches both Russia and Japan with regard to the neutralization of China during the war.—Viceroy Admiral Alexiev is appointed to supreme command of Russia's land and naval forces in the Far East.

February 13.—China issues a proclamation of neutrality.

February 19.—The Russian gunboat Manjur is shut up in Shanghai harbor by the Japanese cruiser Akitsushima. It is afterward dismantled to avoid being destroyed by the the Japanese cruiser.

February 22.—Vice-admiral Makarov is appointed to command the Russian Pacific fleet.

February 23.—General Kuropatkin, Russian Minister of war, is ordered to Manchuria to take supreme command of the Russian land forces.

February 24.—The Japanese make an heroic endeavor to block Port Arthur by sinking ships at entrance, and partly succeed.

February 28.—Russia declares coal and other fuel contraband.

March 8.—Admiral Makarov arrives at Dalny—Marquis Itô is sent as Special Japanese Envoy to Korea and strengthens the Japanese position there.

March 11.—The Japanese sink a Russian torpedo-boat destroyer at Port Arthur.

March 17.—The Russian torpedo-boat Skorri is blown up at Port Arthur by a Russian mine.

March 21.—The new Japanese Diet approves the war.

March 28.—A Cossack force under General Mischenko is defeated by the Japanese at Chung-ju.

April 13.—The Russian first-class battleship Petropavlovsk is sunk by the Japanese in battle at the entrance of Port Arthur, and Admiral Makarov with 700 men, including the famous Russian painter Verescha-gin, are lost—The Russian torpedo-boat destroyer Bezstrashni is sunk at Port Arthur; the Russian battleship Pobieda is injured by a mine or a Japanese torpedo.

April 25.—The Russian Vladivostok squadron enters the port of Gensan, Korea, and sinks a small Japanese steamer.

April 26.—The Russian Vladivostok squadron sinks the Japanese troop-ship Kenshyu with a loss of 73 men, the Japanese dying rather than surrender.



May 1.—First important action on land. Kuroki's army, estimated at 30,000, completes its passage of the Yalu, and defeats the Russian army under Gen. Zassalich, supposed to be 10,000 to 12,000 strong. The Japanese lost some 1000 men killed and wounded, while the Russians lost probably 3000.

May 3.—Admiral Togo blocks Port Arthur after a series of attempts unparalleled for heroism and self-sacrifice.

May 6.—A Japanese army of about 50,000 lands at Pitse-wo on the east side of the Liao-tung peninsula, and marches across and cuts the railway between Port Arthur and Mukden.

May 12.—The Russians destroy Dalny—A Russian loan of \$150,000,000 and a Japanese loan of \$50,000,000 are successfully placed.

May 17.—The Russians evacuate Niu-chwang—Gen. Zassalich, who was defeated at the Yalu, is removed from command.

May 19.—The Japanese battleship Hatsuse is accidentally wrecked by a mine, with loss of 450 men; and the Japanese cruiser Yoshino is sunk in collision by the Kasuga, with loss of 200 men.

May 26.—Kin-chau is captured by the Japanese under Gen. Oku.

May 27.—Gen. Oku storms Nan-shan hill, outside of Kin-chau, defeating Gen. Stoessel; loss about 3000 men on each side.

May 28.—The Russians evacuate Dalny, which is occupied by Gen. Oku.

June 2.—Gen. Kuropatkin sends Gen. Stakelberg with more than two divisions to harass Gen. Oku's army.

June 10.—Gen. Kuroki wins a victory at Siu-yen, and continues his advance against Liao-yang.

June 14.—The Russian Port Arthur fleet makes a sortie, and is driven back.

June 15.—The Vladivostok squadron sinks the Japanese transports Hitachi and Idzumi in Korea Strait, the Japanese loss being about 1000 men.

June 16.—Gen. Stakelberg is out-manuevered by Gen. Oku at Telissu and Va-fang-ow and disastrously defeated; the Japanese report their loss at something over 1000; the Russian loss appears to be between 8000 and 10,000. This is, up to the present, the most serious and most brilliant action of the war.

June 17.—Gen. Kuropatkin is reported as going to the aid of Gen. Stakelberg.



# GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

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## ROOSEVELT, OR PARKER?

Court has been held at Chicago and St. Louis. The briefs of both parties are in, the case is ready for the jury, and the verdict will be announced November 8.

The point of view from which all the merits and demerits of both cases should be considered is the probable influence of the respective parties, if entrusted with power, upon the financial stability and industrial prosperity of the nation. Upon this everything affecting the national welfare depends. Given financial stability and industrial prosperity, all that makes for social welfare and national advance follows; and, conversely, if financial disturbance and business disruption come, all else fails. In considering the merits of the two parties from this point of view, three questions present themselves: first, as to finance and domestic industry; second, as to present platforms; and third, as to candidates.

First, as to finance and domestic industry. Since Hamilton's time, the Republican party has had no recognized political philosophy. Hamilton and Jefferson represented two essentially different political systems. The Democrats have theoretically clung to the doctrines of Jefferson, but the Republicans have not, in anything like the same degree, clung to the doctrines of Hamilton. Under its present name, the Republican party has been essentially a party of opportunism, a party of economic and political expediency. In some respects this has been an advantage. Had it been wedded to a narrow, unsound theory, it might have been greatly



hampered in dealing with the new and unforeseen problems that arose. Being tied to no specific doctrine, it was free to apply its best practical sense to new problems. Under these conditions, it is not surprising that it has been largely an experimental party. Dealing with new problems at short range and often from a mistaken point of view, it is not surprising that it should often lack the far sightedness that sound principles would have insured.

In the matter of banking, the Republican party has shown a great lack of political principle. Greenbacks and the national banking system were radical departures, from the sound fiscal principles taught and practised by Hamilton. But the Republican party had to deal with a situation. Jackson had overthrown the Bank of the United States and established the sub-treasury system, the bane of our present financial institutions. The country was in the midst of a civil war; it needed money, and foreigners would not take its bonds, and the bankers of New York and elsewhere in this country were not patriotic enough to come to the rescue. As a matter of necessity, the national banking system, making the issue of notes depend upon the purchase of government bonds, was established. This was an emergency measure to compel the banks to take the government bonds, and thereby furnish revenue for the conduct of the war. The issue of greenbacks was another emergency measure for the same purpose. Neither of these schemes rests on sound fiscal principles, but they were practical measures of temporary utility and served their purpose; and, because they did serve their purpose, and through an entire lack of fundamental principle, the Republican party has adhered to them ever since. This fact has made a great deal of financial patching necessary; yet in it all, the Republican party, true to its practical and patriotic spirit, has always risen to the emergency and done whatever the occasion required to sustain and promote financial credit and business



stability. Thus, when its fiat greenbacks depreciated, instead of repudiating them, as was done in the case of the continental currency and of Confederate money, it resolutely declared for resumption of specie payments, and made its greenbacks as good as gold. To be sure, wise financial policy would long ere this have taken every greenback out of circulation; but, lacking that, it has taken the necessary steps, though clumsy, to sustain the greenback at par.

Like the Democratic party, the Republican party long stood for bimetallism, but when, from economic causes aided by some political action abroad, the value of silver and gold separated so far as to endanger the monetary standard of the nation, the Republican party gave up its bimetallism in time to save the situation, and emphatically adopted the gold standard in 1900. Since that time it has so fortified the gold standard by legislation as to give absolute stability to finance. Thus, while it has never had a sound financial and banking theory, the Republican party has had the patriotism and practical sense to protect and sustain and finally and irrevocably establish the credit of the monetary standard of the nation.

Its policy toward the industrial prosperity of the nation has been more consistent than its financial policy. In this it has been practically true to Hamilton. While its theory of protection has been often ragged, and its utterances very inconsistent, its practise has been persistent. It has often supported the policy with poor reasons and sometimes applied it with favoritism; but it has never failed to furnish protection to the American market. To its practical persistence in this policy is due a great part of the marvelous industrial development of the United States, in which it has surpassed all other nations. Whatever the defects of the Republican party, and they are too numerous to mention here, it has never failed to stand for whatever would promote the development of domestic industry and the welfare of the nation.



Second, as to the Republican platform. On the vital questions affecting the financial stability and business prosperity of the nation, the Republican platform is entirely consistent with the history of the party. It devotes a good deal of space to self-glorification, but that is a particular weakness of party platform-making. On the money question, it declares for upholding, at whatever cost, the now established gold standard. Its attitude toward domestic industry is out-spoken and unqualified. It says:

Protection, which guards and develops our industries, is a cardinal policy of the Republican party. The measure of protection should always at least equal the difference in the cost of production at home and abroad. We insist upon the maintenance of the principles of protection; and, therefore, rates of duty should be readjusted only when conditions have so changed that the public interest demands their alteration.

This is brief but adequate. It gives all the guarantee party declaration can that protection to domestic industry shall be a cardinal policy of the Administration, if the Republican party is again elected to power. It gives the same kind of surety to the stability of industrial prosperity that the declaration for the gold standard does to fiscal stability.

The whole platform is, indeed, superior to some other Republican platforms, in that it is more straight-forward and less evasive. It contains no shilly-shally, no half promises of reciprocity. On the contrary, it frankly declares that it will favor reciprocity treaties only where "arrangements can be effected consistent with the principles of protection and without injury to American agriculture, American labor, or any American industry." This is the true attitude on reciprocity.

On the question of trusts, which is the relation of the Administration toward corporate industries, second in importance only to the general protection of domestic industry, it avoided all maudlin sentiment and play to the galleries, and frankly says:



Combinations of capital and of labor are the results of the economic movement of the age, but neither must be permitted to infringe upon the rights and interests of the people. Such combinations, when lawfully formed for lawful purposes, are alike entitled to the protection of the laws, but both are subject to the laws and neither can be permitted to break them.

As a proclamation of the policy of the party on vital public questions, the Chicago platform is a straight-forward, intelligent document. On the great questions of money and business, it has the ring of earnestness. That it expressed the sentiment of the party is shown by the fact that there was no contention, either in committee or before the convention, about any question in the platform. Its acceptance was unanimous and unqualified.

Third, as to the Republican candidate. Mr Roosevelt has been President long enough to give a practical indication of his qualities. There were many in his own party who feared he might lack the moderation and conservative, judicial quality required for such a position; but, as if by unanimous consent, all criticism and doubts were waived, and only the hope remained that he would broaden and take on more of the spirit of great statesmen with the great responsibility of his high office. Frankness compels the admission that in this respect, he has been a disappointment. As he grew familiar with the office, he grew less, instead of more, conservative and more, instead of less, aggressive and personal in his attitude. On the money question he created no concern and is universally believed to be entirely safe. On the tariff question he became an aggressively disrupting element, almost splitting his party in two. For a considerable time he showed a determination to favor tariff revision on the line of the 'Iowa idea,' and tried practically to force reciprocity upon Congress. His disregard for the wise counsel of the leaders of his party in both houses of Congress, together with his distinctly



high-handed personal policy toward corporations, has created the impression in financial and business circles that he is erratic, dogmatic, and unsafe; that he does not have due respect for the legislative departments of the government, and that, altogether, he is a disturber of the business confidence of the country.

The party and the platform represent a sound, conservative, business-promoting policy. The question is—will Mr Roosevelt, if elected, conform his conduct to the expressed policy of the party as clearly written in the platform? For an answer, we must await his letter of acceptance. If he hopes to be elected, he had better let the people know that he intends to stand squarely upon the platform upon which he was nominated, that he will adhere in good faith to the policy of protection, that he will not try to coerce Congress into adopting mischievous, business-disturbing reciprocity treaties, and will not try to force a personal policy of persecution of the business of the country. Will he do it?

First, the Democrats on finance and domestic industry. The St. Louis convention presents a picture entirely different from that of the convention at Chicago. The Democratic party is historically quite unlike the Republican party. In theory, at least, it is a party of rigid political principle. It has always professed, and constantly reasserted, the doctrine of *laissez-faire*—no government interference in industry. This has always been interpreted to mean free trade. It has always denounced protection as a pernicious form of paternalism and offensive favoritism. This doctrine was laid down as the guiding principle of its policy by Jefferson. It was the dividing line between the systems of Jefferson and Hamilton. On finance, the Democratic party applied the same principle, and resisted at every step all efforts to establish a sound banking system. It opposed Hamilton's Bank of the United States, and refused to renew its charter at its expiration in 1811. It was not until wild-cat banks



flooded the country, and bank currency was at a discount of from 15 to 40 per cent. in different states, and to avoid sheer bankruptcy that it yielded and permitted the chartering of the second United States Bank. Although this bank immediately gave stability to the currency and brought paper money to par within a year, Jackson made war upon it, and overthrew it before its charter expired, and again inaugurated financial chaos and gave us the sub-treasury system. All this was done under the influence of strict adherence to political principle. A government bank, or a national banking system, was regarded as contrary to the Democratic principle of local authority. It was exactly like the present cry against trusts. It was feared because it was a concentration of capital. The same principle led Jefferson to be afraid of cities and manufactures. As a party, therefore, the Democrats have opposed both a scientific system of banking and protection to domestic industry. So strong was this conviction that free trade was given a prominent place in the Confederate constitution. The Democratic party has been true to this idea even under the changed conditions since the war. It has persistently resisted every attempt to protect and encourage domestic industry, on the ground that it was violating the principle of industrial freedom. The last time it was in power it directed all its energies to the destruction of the tariff, with the consequence of disrupting the business of the nation during its whole term of office.

On the money question, as a party it took up the cause of free silver and has conducted two national campaigns in the struggle to establish the sixteen-to-one heresy as the fiscal policy of the nation. It is true that a small group protested and adhered to the ideas of sound money and temporarily deserted the ranks of the party; but the fact remains that the party, as a political organization throughout the entire country, marched under that banner, and cast



more than 6,000,000 votes in 1896, and more than 7,000,000 in 1900, for that policy. Historically, therefore, the attitude of the Democratic party toward sound money and industrial development is antagonistic to the traditional policy of the nation.

Second, the Democratic platform. The present attitude of the Democratic party as to financial and industrial policy is proclaimed in the platform just adopted at St. Louis. That it has not recanted its heresies or really changed its attitude on the money question, is shown by the fact that a moderate proposition involving the admission of the gold standard was rejected by the platform committee by a vote of 35 to 15. Although it did not declare for free silver, Mr Bryan, the free-silver leader was confessedly the controlling spirit. So manifest was this that even the Democratic press called it a Bryan platform. In an editorial headed "Insane and Unsafe," the New York 'Times' says:

On Bryan's platform Judge Parker will never be elected. He must make his own, and he must make it promptly if he would stay the tide of defection. The convention expressly refused to declare for gold, thereby confessing that the Democracy is not cured of the free-silver craze.

The New York Evening 'Post' characterized the platform thus:

What is the real state of affairs? The enemies of Parker set out to make a platform upon which he could not stand. What they succeeded in doing was to make one, in the vital plank, upon which no man can stand—for it is nothing but thin air. The money plank was drawn out bodily so as to leave the candidate dangling. And the process was attended by every circumstance of stupid management and bad faith.

It is everywhere admitted that, on the money question, Mr Bryan controlled the convention. The fact that for two national conventions in succession the party has been definitely committed to free silver, and the further fact



that in 1904, although the question was raised, not a word of criticism on that doctrine was expressed by the convention; and, by silent consent the party still stands committed to free silver.

In view of its history and its present platform the Democratic party is manifestly unsafe on the money question. It can be trusted only so long as business prosperity makes the re-opening of the silver question impossible.

The attitude of the Democratic party toward the industrial interests of the country is even more serious than its attitude to money. As already pointed out, it is historically a free-trade party, not always advocating out-right free trade, but always standing for the largest amount of tariff reduction, in the hope of coming as near to free trade as possible. In this it is thoroughly consistent. It has always been that way. Its platform leaves no doubt upon that subject. It says:

The Democratic Party has been, and will continue to be, the consistent opponent of that class of tariff legislation by which certain interests have been permitted, through Congressional favor, to draw a heavy tribute from the American people. . . . We denounce protection as a robbery of the many to enrich the few, and we favor a tariff limited to the needs of the Government, economically administered, and so levied as not to discriminate against any industry, class, or section, to the end that the burdens of taxation shall be distributed as equally as possible.

This is at least creditable frankness if it is not good economic judgment. If upon this platform the Democratic party is elected, it will be expected to do all it can to destroy the protective policy of the country and to reduce import duties to a purely non-protective revenue basis. Upon this question, there is no room for criticism. Its attitude on protection is more dangerous to domestic industries and national prosperity than its attitude on the money question.



On the question of corporations, the platform is also thoroughly Bryanized. It assumes a pronounced trust-busting position, and declares:

We demand a strict enforcement of existing civil and criminal statutes against all such trusts, combinations, and monopolies, and we demand the enactment of such further legislation as may be necessary to effectually suppress them.

This is a warning that, if elected, the Democratic party will be the persecutors of corporations. It would thus strongly second its tariff-smashing policy. If our present monetary standard is regarded as sound and our industrial policy safe and satisfactory, the program of the Democratic party on both finance and industry is unsound and thoroughly dangerous.

Third, as to the Democratic candidate. The only conservative feature of the Democratic party and policy today is its candidate. How much of a conservative power he would be, no man can tell. Judge Parker is a dignified, scholarly gentleman. He has never been known, however, to say or do anything that indicates a pronounced position on any important questions of national policy. When a candidate is in entire accord with his party, this is not of such vital importance; but when the party is thoroughly dangerous on important questions, the position of the candidate on vital public questions is quite as important as his strength of character. As to all this Judge Parker is thus far a veritable sphinx. The only thing that is positively known about him in this respect is that he twice voted for Bryan for President. This shows that he did not have either the clearness of view or the strength of character to refuse to vote for the rankest heresy of this generation. Moreover, he voted twice for the sixteen-to-one heresy when the sane men of his party were crying out against it. The best that can be said for Judge Parker in this case is that he showed no symptoms of political leadership and followed the herd,



or that he sacrificed personal convictions and public interest to party regularity.

In the following telegram, which he sent to the convention before permitting it to adjourn without understanding thoroughly his views, it must be admitted that his position was a great improvement over that of his predecessor in 1896 and 1900:

I regard the gold standard as firmly and irrevocably established and shall act accordingly if the action of convention today shall be ratified by the people. As the platform is silent on the subject, my view should be made known to the convention, and, if it is proved to be unsatisfactory to the majority, I request you to decline the nomination for me at once, so that another may be nominated before adjournment.

Had Judge Parker the courage of a real leader, he would have done this before the convention met. Judge Parker knew, all his friends knew, the whole country knew that the cardinal point in the St. Louis convention would be the money plank, and his friends persisted in their effort to have him nominated as an unknown quantity on this subject. They presented the fact that he voted for Bryan twice as an indication that he was not unfriendly to free silver. When Mr Hill, his personal representative on the platform committee, was asked what Judge Parker's position was, he said he did not know, which, of course, nobody believed. The truth is that if he had made his views known he probably would not have been nominated, and this is, indeed, the real reason why, through the advice of the cunning Hill, he kept silent and remained an unknown quantity. This was made clear by the explanation of a New York member of the National Committee, who said:

The real, simple truth of the failure to put a gold plank in the platform is this: It would have resulted in a minority report being presented to the convention; and if that had been done, we would have been beaten and Judge Parker would not have been nominated.



All this shows that Judge Parker's telegram was not so heroic, after all. He kept back his views on the critical question until after he was nominated because he and his friends feared that if it were known, he would not be nominated. They well knew that after the nomination had taken place his rejection would be doubly difficult, since to change the nominee would have been to split the party and insure defeat. This shows that he was more eager for the nomination than for the soundness of the platform.

At any rate, it is quite clear that the expressed policy of the Democratic party is menacing to the business interests of the country, and the only real hope for sanity and safety is its candidate. Is Judge Parker sufficiently pronounced, sufficiently characterful to lead his party against its historic convictions and platform? That is the question. As the New York Evening 'Post' says:

It is no hour for prating, as Mr Littleton did, about a candidate who is the "servant of his party." That party needs a master. It requires a nominee who will spit upon the treacheries and poltrooneries of the delegates at St. Louis, and will make his own financial platform. . . . If Judge Parker is not the man to show this stern quality of the statesman unafraid, the campaign both for him and his party ends before it begins.

This states the case correctly. If the Democratic party can be trusted at all, it is only on the ground that its candidate becomes "the man on horseback," a dictator and autocrat; and yet this is the chief objection to Mr Roosevelt.

Here, then, we have the two parties: one whose history and platform is on the whole, sound and safe on all vital questions that affect the financial stability and industrial prosperity of the nation, but its candidate is erratic, headstrong, and unsafe; the other, in its history and platform a menace to financial stability and industrial prosperity, but its candidate is temperamentally conservative, and safe on the money question, but for all anybody knows is as dan-



gerous as his party on the tariff and other questions affecting the industrial prosperity of the nation. The fact that Judge Parker has twice voted for Bryan and never demurred to the industrial policy of his party shows that practically nothing is to be hoped from him in this respect, even if he were autocrat enough to control his party.

On the money question Roosevelt is with his party and safe. On the tariff question the party has refused to follow him, either in its legislation in Congress on reciprocity treaties, or in its declaration, or in its platform on the tariff. The only way he can damage the business interests of the country, is in his legal persecution of corporations. He has learned some lessons on this, but whether or not he is cured of his passion for "trust-busting" remains to be revealed in his letter of acceptance. In short, the party is safe, and the candidate is the only element of danger. On the other side, the party is loaded with danger and the candidate is the only element of safety, and that only on the least doubtful question.

If the American people want an administration unalterably opposed to protection, fanatically antagonistic to corporations, and doubtful on the money question, it should elect Judge Parker and a Democratic Congress. If, on the other hand, the people want to maintain the integrity of the gold standard, continue the policy of protection to domestic industry, and promote the continuance of industrial prosperity, they must elect Roosevelt with a Republican Congress.

While Judge Parker, from all that is known of him, is by temperament and character the superior man for the place, he is so completely handicaped by the traditions, doctrine, platform, and personnel of his party, that his election could not fail to carry doubt and danger to the vital interests of the nation.



## MR WILLIAMS'S CONVENTION SPEECH

JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS, of Mississippi, is the accredited Democratic leader in Congress. He is a bright and moderately able man. When he is not posing for party purposes, he even talks like a sensible man and occasionally like a statesman. Having been selected as temporary chairman of the St. Louis convention, he evidently thought it his duty to demolish the speech of the temporary chairman of the Republican convention and pulverize its platform, and to this task he devoted himself. Although there was abundant room for effective criticism of the administration from a serious point of view, Mr Williams's speech was a disappointing failure. In spots it was bright, sometimes acute, but it was flippant and shallow throughout. There is not in then entire speech a profound, well sustained criticism of any portion of the Republican platform; not that the Republican platform is too strong; but Mr Williams appeared to struggle chiefly to make catchy points and to play with words.

The first subject to which Mr Williams devotes himself is Mr Root's obligation to Mr Roosevelt. In a very labored effort, in which he talks about "two souls with but a single thought, two speeches that read like one," he tries to create the impression that Mr Root wrote Mr Roosevelt's speech, or Mr Roosevelt wrote Mr Root's. In his play back and forth upon this subject, and in an effort to be witty, he succeeded only in being silly. Whatever else Mr Williams may be able to do, it would take him ten life-times to convince the American people, or even himself, that either Mr Root or Mr Roosevelt needs anybody to write his speeches. Whatever objection anybody may have to Mr Roosevelt,



on other subjects, nobody will question his ability to make himself voluble, either orally or in writing; and as to Mr Root, he is admittedly a masterhand at volubility. In this capacity, either of them is more than the peer of Mr Williams. Of course, Mr Roosevelt likes Mr Root; he thinks him a great man, and there are many others who think likewise; and Mr Root has a great admiration for Mr Roosevelt. He may even over-estimate him, but what of it? To devote more than twelve hundred words of a speech, that was supposed to be a serious discussion of public affairs, to the trivial question as to whether Root and Roosevelt overpraised each other, was, to say the least, puerile. It was neither dignified nor statesmanlike.

The next one thousand or more words of Mr Williams's speech is devoted to criticizing what Mr Root said; and even here he failed to rise to the plane of comprehensive criticism. He again tries to be funny by playing upon words and evidently thinks it brilliant to say "Verily, he is the Root of all evil."

His real review of the record of the Republican party he crowds into the following paragraph:

In the pitiable telegrams inquiring just when the patriotic and unassisted revolution of fifty or one hundred men was slated to come off unexpectedly in Panamá? In the celebrated order of "Hell-roaring Jake" Smith prescribing ten as the age above which children were to be killed in one of the islands of the Philippines? In the universal honeycombing of our national life with the corruption of legislation-bought special privileges? Time fails me to ask where. What has ancient history to do with present inequities, anyhow?

This is not discussion; it is a mere fling. The Panamá and the Philippine questions may have been discussed with dignity and force to the credit of the opposition, but they were passed over with less than fifty words to each.

He attacks Ex-secretary Root for boasting that the per



capita of circulation of money among the people in the United States increased from \$23.14 in March, 1897, to \$31.02 in May last, and crediting the prosperity to the policy of the Republican party. He does not challenge the accuracy of Mr Root's statement, but scolds about Mr Root's daring to use the per capita circulation as an evidence of prosperity, because that was the argument which the 'sixteen-to-one' advocates, of which Mr Williams was admittedly one, claimed the exclusive right to use. The idea that the Republicans, whom Mr Williams declares deny that the quantity of money had anything to do with the value of money, should dare to cite the per capita circulation as an evidence of prosperity, was fairly exasperating, and he exclaims "what monumental effrontery is this which enables them to boast of the benefits of the increased volume of standard metallic money and consequent prosperity by the operation or the 'quantitative theory of money,' which theory they found no language strong enough to deny and ridicule but yesterday." All this is mere free-silverite vapping, and had no bearing on the wisdom or unwisdom of the Republican policy in any department. What if Mr Root accepted, as many Republicans do, the erroneous quantity theory of money? In accepting that theory he but agreed with Mr Williams and all his hosts. On the theory of metallic money, a very large part of the Republican party shares the error of the Democratic party. There is but a small per cent. of Democrats, and scarcely a larger per cent. of Republicans, that stands for sound doctrine on money and banking. Mr Williams is among the worst of both. He has been to the front in all that is ragged and unsound on the currency and banking questions, and in his speech he does not so much as suggest a sound idea. His pretended consternation that a Republican speaker should be permitted to talk the same kind of nonsense that he does is the shiftiness of a politician. On the question of sound money, as



respects metallic coinage, government greenbacks, and the banking system, the Cleveland Democrats and a small per cent. of the Republicans are sounder than either the Republican party or the Democratic party. But this much must be said that, either from principle or from political expediency, the Republican party took its stand with the few Cleveland Democrats for sound money and the gold standard, and the Democrats, as a party, and Mr Williams and his followers individually, were arrayed for 'sixteen-to-one,' and all that was unsound on that subject.

On the one-man power question, Mr Williams foolishly attacks Mr Root for having exercised absolute authority in deciding many questions of policy in the Philippines, and calls him "ex-officio Emperor of the Philippine Archipelago." How weak and empty is such talk. In the circumstances, there was absolutely nothing else for Mr Root to do but to decide. The trouble with the Philippines was not that Mr Root made official decisions when there was no one else to make them, but that the McKinley administration took the Philippines at all. If there is one department of the government that is entitled to the confidence and praise of the country, it is the War Department under Secretary Root in dealing with the Philippines. Taking the Islands was undoubtedly bad policy, but having taken them and insisted upon governing them, to adopt an efficient working policy was the duty of the officer responsible. Such talk is altogether discreditable to the parliamentary leader of a great political party.

There was abundant room for criticism of the one-man power in numerous acts of President Roosevelt—in his attitude toward Congress in the last two sessions—yet on that Mr Williams had not a word to say. Real questions he avoided, and wasted his time in fluttering around superficial ones.

In his criticism of the Republican platform, Mr Williams



appears to no better advantage. After a few peppery remarks, he quotes the following as especially objectionable:

We then found the country, after four years of Democratic rule, in evil plight, oppressed with misfortunes, and doubtful of the future. Public credit had been lowered, revenues were declining, the debt was grownig, the Administration's attitude toward Spain was feeble and mortifying, its standard of values was threatened and uncertain. Labor was unemployed. Business was sunk in the depression which succeeded the panic of 1893. Hope was faint and confidence was gone.

Mr Williams may be excused for not liking this; but how true it is. Everybody over twenty years of age can verify every line of it. There is not a business man, or a laborer in the land whose memory is short enough to have forgotten it. If Mr Lodge was the author of the platform, he is entitled to great credit for the compactness and accuracy of statement in this brief paragraph. It tells the story in faultless fashion. It was so solid and accurate that Mr Williams could not attack it. The best he could do was to "paraphrase" it, and substitute a much less compact and much less true story of his own. In this "paraphrase," among other things, he says: "Corn was burned for fuel in Kansas and elsewhere in the West in 1890 and after. Cotton was at or below the price of production."

Mr Williams is here bent more on paraphrasing than on accuracy, but a too close adherence to facts might have spoiled his paraphrase. Now the average price for No 1 corn in 1890 was 50.06 cents a bushel; in 1891, 40.06, in 1892, 39.04; in 1893, 36.05. This is an average of 41.08 cents a bushel for the four years of 1890-93. The average from 1890-1904 a bushel was only 37.04 cents. Hence, the price in 1890 was 13.02 above the average for the last fourteen years, and the average for the four years 1890-93 was 3.04 above the average for the last four years. As Mr Williams well knows, 30 cents a bushel



is a profitable price for corn; anything above 30 cents is velvet. If the people "in Kansas and elsewhere in the West" burn corn for fuel at 50.06 cents a bushel they are recklessly extravagant, because at that price they can get three times as much fuel for the money as corn would furnish. The simple truth is nobody "in Kansas and elsewhere in the West" was ever crazy enough to burn corn for fuel when he could sell it for 50 cents a bushel. This was evidently a case where Mr Williams talked for political purposes, without regard for, and quite contrary to, the facts.

Even if he was ignorant as to corn, he ought to have known about cotton; yet, his statement on that Southern staple is equally reckless. He did not venture to name the price of cotton in 1890, but he tried to create the impression that it was at its lowest point in that year, by saying that "cotton was at or below the price of production." The fact is that the average price of cotton in 1890 was 11.07 cents a pound. For the four years from 1890 to 1893, the price was 8.98 cents a pound, while the average price for the next five years—four of which was under the Cleveland administration—the average price was 7.05 cents, or 1.93 lower than the average for four years preceding the Cleveland administration, and 4 cents a pound less than in 1890.

As if this were not enough, he further declares in his "paraphrase" that labor was unemployed or poorly remunerated in factory and field. This is so bold a defiance of fact that one marvels that he dared venture so far even in a political convention. All statistics and the records of business and of labor-unions show—in fact, it is common knowledge, that the years from 1890 to the election of Mr Cleveland in 1892 were the most prosperous years this country had experienced down to that time, that wages reached their high-water mark, employment was never so abundant, and enforced idleness never so rare as then. It is also true that immediately after Mr Cleveland's election



all this was changed as if by magic. Business investment contracted, new enterprises stopped, old ones curtailed, and enforced idleness increased, and Mr Cleveland had been only three months in office when the large cities of the country were disfigured by soup-kitchens.

This is the speech that the New York 'Times' thinks "no candid American can without reproach neglect." If the 'Times' desires that every "candid American" should read a discreditable specimen of inaccurate, trifling, convention speech-making, then we entirely agree with it.

The period from 1893 to 1897 was, indeed, a period of nostrums. Populism, free-silver, and all the socialistic antagonism to successful industry and orderly society arose during that period. Nor is there anything strange in this. It was quite natural. Periods of depression are always the source of discontent, discontent is the mother of new notions. Under such conditions the people lend a ready ear to a plea for radical remedies. A period of bankruptcy, enforced idleness, soup-kitchens, and tramps is always a period for drastic social reform. It was a part of the spirit of this national protest and nostrum-nursing that the Chicago strike took on its violent and revolutionary form. It was this spirit of protest and popular disgust that drove Mr Cleveland and his business disturbing associates ignominiously from office and gave Bryan, as the revolutionary leader of nostrums-seekers, 7,000,000 votes for President. Indeed, it was a period of nostrums, and it came very near being a period of economic revolution. And if the perils of that period were not created, they were nursed and stimulated and made possible by the business-disturbing and confidence-destroying policy with which the nation was threatened by the election of Grover Cleveland.

As if conscious of the muddle he was in, and to cap the climax in twisting history and reversing industrial data, Mr Williams tries to give the impression that the panic of



1893 and the depression of the subsequent four years could not be the result of the Cleveland "tariff act, which was not passed until more than a year after, to-wit, in 1894, when the panic, that is the acute and fright stage of depression was virtually over." Mr Williams's misstatement of prices and other industrial facts might possibly be attributed to carelessness or natural inaccuracy of speech; but this statement does not admit of even such an excuse. It was manifestly a deliberate effort to reverse the facts by a mere trick of speech, which he appears to have learned from such papers as the New York 'Times' and 'Evening Post.' But the simple state of the case, which is obvious to everybody and which no wriggling and twisting and twirling can alter, is that the panic of 1893 and the subsequent depression were the direct results of the Cleveland tariff policy. It was not the effect of the specific Wilson Bill, but it was the effect of the election of Cleveland and a majority in Congress in favor of his policy to reduce the tariff. Panics are seldom the result of actually changed economic and fiscal conditions, but are usually the result of an expected change in conditions. It is exactly like the cry of fire in a theater. Most of the loss of life in the Chicago theater fire could have been avoided if the terror of the people could have been averted, and they had moved out in orderly fashion. But this is what people never do under such conditions. The election of Cleveland was the announcement to every business man in the country that the conditions upon which business prosperity then rested were to be disturbed, and nobody knew how much tearing up was to be done. From the utterances of Mr Cleveland, the speeches of his followers, and the tone of the press, the business men of the country expected the worst, and they acted accordingly. It was this fear of the worst that brought the panic.

For Mr Williams or any other public man to pretend that because the Wilson Bill was not passed until 1894 that the



panic was not due to the Cleveland administration, is to insult the intelligence of the average American citizen. The evidence is so conclusive that there is no escape. We all know that 1891-92 were banner business years. Prosperity, industrial expansion, rising wages, and abundant employment were the characteristics of industry throughout the nation. During the summer of 1892, as the election of Cleveland seemed probable, lack of business confidence became apparent; and, immediately after the election—the very next day—the symptoms of panic appeared. During the first week after the election the newspapers contained numerous and increasing reports from every quarter about the curtailing of business, canceling of contracts for new enterprises. Banks began to withdraw credit from all concerns in protected industries. After a month, shops began to close, enforced idleness increased. After three months, bankruptcies were daily announced; and by the time Mr Cleveland was inaugurated, a panic was on. The six months ending June 30 showed a larger amount of bankruptcies than had ever been known in a single six months since the foundation of the government. Now nothing had occurred except that Cleveland had been elected. No legislation had been adopted. The Wilson Bill was not proposed, nothing had happened; but the business men were frightened into panic at the very sight of Cleveland in the White House and his party with a majority in Congress.

To deny this is to dispute the obvious and to treat the people as fools. No public man or political party that will descend to such methods of dealing with public questions can be trusted to present the facts, shape the policy, or administer the affairs of a great nation.



## “RUSSIA WILL CRUSH JAPAN”

UNDER THIS bombastic title, Prince Esper Ukhtomsky has contributed an article to the 'Independent' of June 23. From a note by the editor introducing the article, it appears that Prince Esper Ukhtomsky is the editor of the Petersburg 'Vyedomosti,' and is described as a "gentleman of the bedchamber at the court of the Tsar and enjoys the personal confidence and friendship of the Emperor." It also prints a picture of this "gentleman of the bedchamber" in a gorgeous costume with the Chinese decoration of a mandarin. All in all, Prince Ukhtomsky is probably a fair representative of the spirit of the Russian court and the Russian disposition toward Asia and toward civilization.

Nothing can so well describe the boastful brutishness and fiendish conceit of this gilt-edge representative of the Russian court as to tell the story in his own words. Here are the first five and the closing paragraphs of his article:

Russia will most assuredly crush Japan, and I look to see her take a large slice of China to pay the expenses of the war, because it will be impossible for the Chinese generals to restrain their troops. They will commit actual hostilities against the Russians, with the result of bringing on a war between Russia and China, or at least such conflicts caused by Chinese aggression as will entitle Russia to very substantial compensation from the Chinese.

When the situation in the Far East has been cleared up by means of ultimate Russian victory, which is inevitable, there will come a reckoning with England, who is undoubtedly responsible for the Japanese attack upon us. England would now like to have better relations with Russia. She desires to come upon the scene smiling and philanthropic, blandly advising peace and holding out her hand to share with us the spoils of victory. But it is now too



late. We recognize her as our old enemy, who has ever stood in the path of Russian development, who has by various means held us back from the sea, has constantly, by means of her publications and her machinery for disseminating news, fostered prejudices against us throughout the entire civilized world. This last attack on us is only one of a hundred scores that we have against England and when our war with Japan is ended it will be not only possible, but also necessary, that we then proceed with the long contemplated expedition to India.

We must crush Japan. We must disarm her, because she is a menace to the peace of Asia, a disturber who is an enemy of civilization; and we must also drive England out of India, for then only can there be a permanent peace. Russia will then be without a rival throughout all Asia, and the White Tsar will reign everywhere from sea to sea.

The success which Japan has gained so far are not at all a surprise to me, because Japan has had five or six men to our one in all the battles, for the reason that Russia has had so many points to cover and guard, and, therefore, the force with which she could meet Japan's sudden attack was very small.

The truth of the matter is that we were caught napping. We certainly did not expect that Japan would be foolish enough to attack us. We thought that their great men had too much sense to precipitate what must ultimately, for them, be such a terrible and disastrous conflict. We felt sure that they could see that though they might be enabled to strike us a few severe blows at first, yet they could not maintain the conflict, and sooner or later we must crush them. . . .

In a short time we will have 600,000 men in the field, and they will refuse to return home empty-handed. One of the results of the war will probably be the destruction of the present Japanese Government. When the Japanese soldiers are driven out of Manchuria the Japanese nation will turn on their rulers and blame them for venturing to fight on the land.

If anything more devilish and more utterly depraved than this has appeared in the literature of political controversy,



it has escaped our notice. Prince Ukhtomsky is evidently a pampered courtier who breathes the atmosphere and is molded by the environments of Russian officialism, and gets all his ideas of government, freedom, civilization, and political ethics from the doctrines taught and the standards erected by the court of the White Tsar. He may, therefore, be taken greatly to reflect the ideas, sentiments, moral standard, and public policy of the Russian court. The political morality expressed in this barbaric and blood-thirsty statement makes Russia the *Rais Uli* of Europe.

Think of a nation whose policy is based upon such egoistic arrogance—a nation that is governing 130,000,000 people under absolute despotism without the veriest rudiments of education, or even the faintest hint of political rights; a nation that has violated its compact by brute force, and robbed the Poles and the Finns of every vestige of political right. Think of such a nation talking about crushing and disarming Japan because it "is an enemy of civilization." Think of the impudence of such a nation calling anybody "the enemy of civilization," or even pretending to speak in the name of civilization at all. Think of the sublime guilelessness with which this decorated courtling exclaims—"we must also drive England out of India, for then only can there be permanent peace. Russia will then be without a rival throughout all Asia, and the White Tsar will reign everywhere from sea to sea." If there would be the slightest danger of the boastful prediction of this "gentleman of the bedchamber" being true, all civilized nations of the world would be justified in wiping the White Tsar and all his hosts from off the earth.

Japan may be crushed, England may be driven out of India, and many other similar things may happen; but no calamity could befall civilization and the cause of human freedom equal to permitting Russia to be "without a rival throughout all Asia" and the White Tsar to "reign every-



where from sea to sea." Another deluge would be preferable to such a calamity to the human race.

Fortunately for civilization, however, there is no danger of such a calamity befalling mankind. Such silly vaporings from within the royal palace only shows what a fool's paradise the Russian court is. The arrogant emptiness of Prince Ukhtomsky's declaration is on a par with Russian military performances. The ignorance, stupidity, and political depravity of the great mass of the Russian people has engendered a blind cock-sureness among the court and courtiers who trifle with human life and liberty as a cat with a mouse. Its immense area and population, and its religious and political exclusiveness, have given it immense brute force, made it a sort of political mastodon, and its immense physical proportions have made many nations stand in awe of its wrath. This has inflated its conceit, until it has become a sort of national Nebuchadnezzar. Instead of keeping up with progress, it has fed on its own vanity, and imagined itself a Goliath to who no one dare say nay. But the day of the mastodon and Goliath is gone. A nation is no longer superior to its neighbors by mere dead weight, physical bulk. It is science not superstition; it is intelligence and character, not faith and blind adoration of divinely appointed rulers, that now make nations great. No nation, however great its population or extensive its territory, can lead the destinies of the world while its own people are in gross poverty and ignorance, and whose government rests on the fiction of divine right. The power of leadership among nations will in the future go to the free, progressive people who use modern methods, and whose industrial life and political activities are inspired by the spirit of freedom and progress. A little David has gone out to meet the Russian Goliath, who has done nothing but prophesy, threaten, and run—losing in every encounter. Prince Ukhtomsky's boast, that she soon "will have 600,000



men in the field, and they will refuse to return home empty-handed," is very much like the vow of the superstitious Spaniards who, when taking farewell of Spain, crossed themselves before the holy crucifix and swore to whip the Americans or not return alive.

Japan is not a Christian nation; but for half a century she has in good faith adopted the spirit and applied the methods of modern science and of Western civilization. She has a constitution and representative institutions, and has put her faith in education, industrial expansion, and personal efficiency. She has recognized the fact that, if she is to perpetuate her existence as a nation, she must keep abreast of industrial and political progress. She saw, from the bitter experience at the close of the war with China, that her life depended on efficiency; and she has equipped herself accordingly, and today, a nation of less than 50,000,000 people, she has sallied forth against numerically the greatest and the most feared nation in all Europe, with a population of more than 130,000,000. By every known test, Japan has demonstrated her superiority over the laggard, boastful, medieval Russians. She has routed them from one stronghold after another, until the Russians soldiers believe the Japanese fight with charmed weapons. Since the war began, the Russians have shown their inferiority in everything except in vainglory and in boasting. This declaration of Prince Ukhtomsky's is identical in spirit with the announcement made by the Russian ministers after the war began.

All this shows the quality of braggarts rather than of brave men. The Japanese, on the other hand, have done no boasting. They have been wonderfully modest, in declaring their purposes; but they have been wonderfully earnest and accurately efficient in their action. In their methods of warfare they are on a higher plane than any other nation in the world. They have lived up to the rules laid down



by The Hague Conference. They have been kind and magnanimous to the wounded and captured Russian soldiers. They have gone so far as to permit all Russians in their charge freely to correspond with their relatives and receive money and articles and even visits from their friends. Another evidence of their superiority is their truthfulness regarding the facts of the war. Thus far, all the false reports that have come regarding victories have come from Petersburg. The reports from Tōkyō have almost invariably proved to be true, and often they have proved too modest in the first report of victories. The Russian dispatches have almost invariably proved to be false or tremendously exaggerated. This indeed, seems to be characteristic of the Russians. Their diplomacy, which is the official expression of the government, is untrustworthy. They are disturbers, quibblers, and promise-breakers. They gave Japan and the world a definite pledge to evacuate Manchuria on a certain date. They failed to do so, and their subsequent conduct proved they never intended to do so. They systematically employ spies and conspirators to create trouble in small countries, that they may have an excuse for interference. Before and since this "gentleman of the bed-chamber" issued his ukase and boastful prophecy, Russia has revealed her military as well as political impotence. She is daily demonstrating that mere bulk and boast avail little against science and sense in the twentieth century. It is daily becoming more manifest to the civilized world that Russia is being unmasked, that she is a huge mass of ignorance, poverty, and weakness. The world has now become so accustomed to Russian defeat and Japanese progress that the least temporary success of the Russian arms is received with surprise. The fall of Port Arthur is everywhere regarded as a matter of course. The news from Kuropatkin's army is expected as an announcement of further retreat, the chief interest in it being the speculation as to where the



retreat will end, and when the Russians will show their boasted prowess.

The terms of the treaty of peace are already being discussed. The question now with the critics of the war is what Japan will do after she has taken Port Arthur. The case of the Japanese is superior in every respect. They are a small nation and modest people. After the war with China, Russia interposed to deprive Japan of Port Arthur. Since then Russia, by every dishonest device, has increased her preparation for encroachment upon China and Korea and for the subjugation of Japan. Japan asked nothing but to live in peace, but Russia's encroachments were so rapid and sweeping, and her diplomacy so treacherous that the moment arrived when Japan was compelled to face the ordeal of fighting for her life and encountering a foe at least three times her own size.

Japan is not fighting to crush Russia, nor to deprive her of her rights, nor to encroach upon her territory, nor in any way to interfere with Russia's affairs; but only to assert the right to live and grow, secure from molestation from Russia. Although the Japanese belong to the Yellow race, their cause is so obviously superior, morally and politically, that the whole world is with them in sympathy. No country in Asia or Europe, except those that expect to benefit by the result, favors Russia, notwithstanding that she claims to be of the White race, and is counted among Christian nations. As a matter of fact, the Russians, as a mass, belong to the same 'Yellow' race as the Chinese, and are Tataric and Mongolic—not Caucasian. They are in the same ethnological group as the Japanese, Tatars, and Mongols. The real 'Yellow Terror' is the rude Russian Tatars, and not the cultured Japanese.

The Japanese will soon win by arms all they strove for in diplomacy. When this comes, the eyes of the Russian people, as well as of the outside world, will be opened to



the impotence of Russia. Then we may expect to see the ominous specter of discontent begin to overshadow the dominions of the 'White Tsar.' The people will begin to see that a 'divinely appointed' and 'Christian' Tsar may not be as good as a 'pagan' emperor; and a distrust of the government will begin. The peace party will charge the war party with the responsibility for defeats and disasters and the loss of Russian prestige; and there will follow a train of catastrophes in the dark domain of the 'White Tsar.'

When that time comes, as it will, unless wisdom intervenes to save the Russians by compromise, the world will begin to see Russia as she really is. Nobody will fear her, and civilization will be permitted to advance more rapidly because the ghost of the Russian bear is removed from its path.

To administer salutary chastisement to Russia, and to lay the phantom of Russian power that has disturbed the world, is the great task of Japan. It will prove a blessing both to the Russian people and to the rest of the human race. In bringing this about, Japan will earn the gratitude as well as the respect of the civilized world.



## HAVE RAILWAY RATES ADVANCED?

H. T. NEWCOMB

FOR MANY years the Interstate Commerce Commission has urged without avail the legislative augmentation of its own authority. Two fundamental changes in the present law are sought. Proceedings before the Commission are *prima facie* evidence in applications to the Federal courts for the enforcement of its orders, but *prima facie* evidence is not conclusive as to the matters covered and may be overborne by further testimony. The courts have therefore held themselves bound completely to investigate the facts bearing upon the legality of the Commission's orders, before decreeing their enforcement, and in many cases this has resulted in the introduction of new elements of defense and in disapproval of the action of the Commission. The latter, therefore, seeks to become the sole tribunal for the determination of the facts in connection with proceedings growing out of the complaints which it receives and asks that instead of investigating upon its own account a Court desiring further information before acting upon an application to enforce an order of the Commission shall remand the case to that body which shall then make the desired inquiry and report its findings to the Court. The second fundamental change sought by the Commission, is that it shall be given authority to exercise the legislative function of rate-making. It proposes to exercise this power within narrow limits but nothing is gained by blinking the character of the authority sought. The Interstate Commerce law declares that all "unreasonable or unjust rates" are unlawful and gives the Commission authority to ascertain when such unreasonableness or injustice exists and to



order the discontinuance of any violation of law. The Commission interpreted this to mean that when it found a particular rate unlawful it could order the substitution of a rate which it regarded as reasonable and just and for several years it proceeded upon this theory of the law. The Supreme Court held, however, that the Commission had been given no authority whatever to prescribe rates for the future, saying that its functions are in part judicial and in part executive and administrative but in no degree legislative. Among other things the Court said:

"It is one thing to inquire whether rates which have been charged and collected are reasonable—that is a judicial act, but an entirely different thing to prescribe rates for the future—that is a legislative act."

In the opinion of the Commission there can be no effective regulation of railway charges until some tribunal has been authorized to exercise, within certain limits, the legislative function of rate-making and until the Courts have been required to delegate to the same body the duty of investigating the facts pertaining to rate problems when the question at issue before them is the legality of the acts of the very tribunal which would make the investigation. The Commission is charged with the duty of recommending to Congress additional legislation deemed necessary for the proper regulation of interstate commerce and in the execution of this duty has repeatedly brought the conclusions referred to, to the attention of the legislative branch of the federal government.

Congress has not, however, seen fit to delegate to the Commission any part of its own powers or to invade for the benefit of the latter any portion of the territory now reserved to the federal courts. The protest of the Commission against this denial of its requests, although decorous and dignified, has been loud and continuous. Its discontent has been echoed in resolutions of boards of trade and commercial organizations, and in those of agricultural societies



and national interstate commerce law conventions; none of them believed to be wholly without inspiration from Washington. Addresses innumerable and magazine articles without end have carried the arguments in favor of the desired changes throughout the length and breadth of the land, and efforts have even been made to raise the issue before conventions called to nominate candidates for Congress. Indeed a Chicago paper is authority for the statement that a "campaign of education" is now in progress and that its purpose is to convince the people of the country that railway charges are now exorbitant and excessive and that the only way to remedy the evil is to modify the law in the manner so long urged by the Commission.

An article contributed to a recent number of one of the popular reviews by a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission\* might easily be regarded as a contribution to the affirmative literature of such a campaign. Its ostensible purpose is to show that effective railway regulation can never be secured by means of "enforced competition" and that the decision in the Northern Securities case does not impair the arguments advanced by the Commission in favor of the legislation which it desires. Its essential feature is an attempt to prove that, because Congress has so far declined to augment the powers of the Commission in the ways so long advocated, the railways are able to, and actually do, arbitrarily and unjustly tax the industries of the United States by exacting exorbitant charges for their services. Any thesis can be sustained if its protagonists are allowed to rest their arguments upon premises which, however false, their opponents are not permitted to question. Few truths concerning the general reader are better established than his propensity to overlook the fact that an argument rests upon premises which are wholly assumed and which investigation might show to be unsound. The author of

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\*Railway Rates and the Merger Decision, by Hon. Charles A. Prouty, *The North-American Review*, June, 1904.



the article in question has made free use of this advantage. Two quotations will serve to epitomize his entire argument:

"For fourteen years this Government has been attempting to regulate railway rates by enforcing competition. At the end of that period, after two epoch-making decisions, we are confronted with increasing monopoly, with advancing rates, and with no probable relief in sight."

"There is but one way to regulate railway charges, and that is to regulate them. If a rate is found unreasonable, a reasonable rate must be put in the place of it. This method is legal, as has been affirmed by courts without number. It is feasible. . . . It is just to all parties and no other method is."

Obviously the basic element in this argument is the allegation that railway rates have advanced. Elsewhere in the article it is asserted that railway revenues are "in the nature of a tax laid by that species of property upon almost every other species," that rates "have been steadily advancing ever since" soon after October 28, 1898,\* and that "advances in railway rates made during the last four years would, if applied to the movement of traffic for the year ending June 30, 1903, amount to \$155,000,000," an "enormous sum" representing, in most instances "an arbitrary

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\*This is the date on which the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Joint Traffic Association case was rendered. Mr. Prouty's accuracy as an historian of recent events in the railway field may be measured by comparing his present statement, that the effect of this decision was "absolutely nothing" and that it did not result in rate-cutting and demoralization with the following extract from the report to Congress to which, as a member of the Commission, he subscribed, on January 9, 1899: ". . . the situation has become intolerable, both from the standpoint of the public and the carriers. Tariffs are disregarded, discriminations constantly occur, the price at which transportation can be obtained is fluctuating and uncertain. Railroad managers are distrustful of each other and shippers are all the while in doubt as to the rates secured by their competitors. The volume of traffic is so unusual as to frequently exceed the capacity of equipment, yet the contest for tonnage seems never to be relaxed. Enormous sums are spent in purchasing business and secret rates accorded far below the standard of published charges."



tax laid . . . by the railways upon the public." If, therefore, Mr. Prouty is mistaken in his fundamental assumption that rates have advanced his argument falls to the ground and has no effect except to weaken the contentions of the Commission as to the desirability of entrusting it with enlarged powers by exposing the erroneous conclusions of one of its members.

Not much time need be spent over the reported \$155,000,-000 obtained through advanced rates. Almost anything can be shown by the sort of statistical jugglery by which this result was attained. The average receipts per ton of railway freight per mile hauled were 11.02 mills in 1882; 8.98 mills in 1892 and 7.57 mills in 1902. During the year 1902 the freight service performed by the railways of the United States was equivalent to carrying 157,289,370,053 tons one mile. Now any one who can multiply can apply the differences between the averages of 1882 and 1892 and that of 1902 to the traffic movement of 1902 and see that if the average of 1882 had been maintained the railways would have collected \$542,648,327 more than they did in the latest year and that if there had been no decrease after 1892 \$221,778,012 more would have been collected. If any one chooses to assume that these calculations prove that in 1902 the shipping public saved \$542,648,372 or \$221,778,012 by reason of reduced railway charges he is at liberty to do so and will have followed precisely the method by which Mr. Prouty's "arbitrary tax" was estimated except that he will not have fallen into certain minor errors which the latter did not avoid.

No one denies that for certain specific freight services the railways now collect more than they would have received for carrying the same tonnage of the same articles between the same places in the year 1898. That this fact means that railway charges are now actually higher than formerly is, however, open to serious question. Every one knows that the value of money, no less than that of



commodities and services, is subject to fluctuation and comparisons of prices, wages or rates which leave these fluctuations out of the account are always defective and may be seriously misleading. Fluctuations in the value of money are measured by fluctuations in prices which are stated in terms of money. Reduce the prices of all commodities and services, giving each its proper weight, to general averages for successive years and these will express with precision the rise or fall in the value of the standard. The United States government has undertaken to do this, within practicable limits, through the Department of Labor and the movement of wholesale prices is portrayed by a series of index numbers compiled under the thoroughly competent direction of Carroll D. Wright. Comparing the yearly averages for all commodities with an average for the decade from 1890 to 1899 and stating the results as percentages the Department gives the following results:

## ALL COMMODITIES

Year.	Price.
1898.....	93.4 per cent. of average for decade 1890 to 1899
1899... ..	101.7 per cent. of average for decade 1890 to 1899
1900.....	110.5 per cent. of average for decade 1890 to 1899
1901.....	108.5 per cent. of average for decade 1890 to 1899
1902.....	112.9 per cent. of average for decade 1890 to 1899

In other words the purchasing power, with reference to commodities in general, of \$1.12 in 1902 was no more than that of ninety-three cents in 1898. One million dollars of railway revenue in 1898 would have purchased as much in general commodities as \$1,208,779 in 1902. Of course the reverse of this would be true unless railway rates, as stated in money, had advanced; that is, had there been no changes in the figures of the rate schedules the average quantity of commodities required to pay for a given transportation service would have been much less in 1902 than in 1898. As a matter of fact there have been changes in



the railway rate schedules and these have taken up a part of the reduction in the value of the money in which railway charges are paid. By no means all of the reduction, however, has been offset in this manner. The average receipts per ton of freight per mile transported by rail in 1898 was 7.53 mills and in 1902 it was 7.57 mills; the averages per passenger per mile were 19.73 mills in 1898 and 19.86 mills in 1902. The lowest averages ever attained were in 1899 when that per ton-mile was 7.24 mills and that per passenger-mile 19.25 mills. The rates of 1899 cover the fiscal year which ended with June 30 and relate therefore to a period the first six months of which coincide with the last six months of the calendar year covered by the Department of Labor's index numbers. Consequently there is no impropriety in using the lowest railway rates for comparison with the prices of 1898 and thus giving a considerable advantage to those who claim that there has been a great advance. In 1902 it would have required \$1,208,779 to purchase as much in general commodities as \$1,000,000 would have bought in 1898 but for \$1,208,779 in 1902 the railways would have carried 159,680,185 tons of freight or 60,865,005 passengers one mile while in 1899 for \$1,000,000 they would have carried 138,121,547 tons of freight or 51,948,052 passengers the same distance. If these figures are clearly apprehended volumes could not tell more. They mean that in order to obtain the same command over commodities, *i. e.*, the same purchasing power, the railways had to perform 15.61 per cent. more freight transportation and 17.17 per cent. more passenger transportation in 1902 than in 1899.

In the following table the receipts per passenger-mile and per ton-mile have been reduced to index numbers similar to those adopted by the Department of Labor and the results stated in parallel columns with the index numbers to which the Department has reduced wholesale prices.



WHOLESALE PRICES AND RATES COMPARED WITH AVERAGES FOR THE DECADE FROM 1890 TO 1899—PERCENTAGES

Years.	Railway rates.		Wholesale prices.									
	Passenger rates.	Freight rates.	Farm products.	Food, etc.	Cloths and clothing.	Fuel and lighting.	Metals and imple-ments.	Lumber and build- ing materials.	Drugs and chem- icals.	House furnishing goods.	Miscellaneous ar- ticles.	All commodities.
1890-1899.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1890.....	105.7	112.2	110.0	112.4	113.5	104.7	119.2	111.8	110.2	111.1	110.3	112.9
1891.....	104.4	106.7	121.5	115.7	111.3	102.7	111.7	108.4	103.6	110.2	109.4	111.7
1892.....	103.7	107.0	111.7	103.6	109.0	101.1	106.0	102.8	102.9	106.5	106.2	106.1
1893.....	102.8	104.6	107.9	110.2	107.2	100.0	100.7	101.9	100.5	104.9	105.9	105.6
1894.....	96.8	102.5	95.9	99.8	96.1	92.4	90.7	96.3	89.8	100.1	99.8	96.1
1895.....	99.5	100.0	93.3	94.6	92.7	98.1	92.0	94.1	87.9	96.5	94.5	93.6
1896.....	98.4	96.1	78.3	83.8	91.3	104.3	93.7	93.4	92.6	94.0	91.4	90.4
1897.....	98.6	95.1	85.2	87.7	91.1	96.4	86.6	90.4	94.4	89.8	92.1	89.7
1898.....	96.2	89.7	96.1	94.4	93.4	95.4	86.4	95.8	106.6	92.0	92.4	93.4
1899.....	93.9	86.3	100.0	98.3	96.7	105.0	114.7	105.8	111.3	95.1	97.7	101.7
1900.....	97.7	86.9	109.5	104.2	106.8	120.9	120.5	115.7	115.7	106.1	109.8	110.5
1901.....	98.1	89.4	116.9	105.9	101.0	119.5	111.9	116.7	115.2	110.9	107.4	108.5
1902.....	96.8	90.2	130.5	111.3	102.0	134.3	117.2	118.8	114.2	112.2	114.1	112.9



The foregoing shows that while the average price of each group of commodities was higher in 1902 than the average for the decade used as the basis both the passenger rates and the freight rates of the railways were lower than the basis.

The price quotations used by the Department of Labor are secured from all sections of the country and are in 260 series representing an equal number of commodities. Separate comparisons with the ten-year average are given for each commodity and thus the price of every one of the 260 articles may be compared with railway rates. Such comparisons show that the prices of all but twenty of the articles had advanced in 1902 to relatively higher figures than freight rates and those of all but forty-five to relatively higher figures than those attained by passenger rates. The following table shows for each of the nine different classes of commodities the volume of railway service which could have been purchased in 1902 by the sum which would have been realized in that year from the sale of a quantity sufficient, at the average prices and rates of the decade from 1890 to 1899, to have paid for, respectively, 1,000,000 passenger-miles and 1,000,000 freight-ton-miles.

Classes of commodities.	Passenger-miles purchasable in 1902 for quan- tity of com- modity indicated sufficient to have paid for 1,000,000 passenger-miles at prices and rates of 1890-1899.	Freight-ton-miles purchasable in 1902 for quan- tity of com- modity indicated sufficient to have paid for 1,000,000 ton-miles at prices and rates of 1890-1899.
Farm products .....	1,348,140	1,446,785
Food, etc .....	1,149,793	1,233,925
Cloths and clothing .....	1,053,719	1,130,820
Fuel and lighting .....	1,387,397	1,488,914
Metals and implements .....	1,210,744	1,299,335
Lumber and building materials.	1,227,273	1,317,073
Drugs and chemicals .....	1,179,752	1,266,075
House furnishing goods .....	1,159,091	1,243,902
Miscellaneous .....	1,178,719	1,264,967
All commodities .....	1,166,322	1,251,663



The foregoing shows that the same quantity of an average commodity in any of these groups would pay for from 5.37 to 48.89 per cent. more railway transportation at the prices and rates in force during 1902 than at the average prices and rates of the years 1890 to 1899. These figures settle the question whether there has been an actual advance in railway charges with a distinct and unquestionable negative.

As railway revenue, stated in money, averaged less per unit of service in 1899 than during any other year a few comparisons based upon the prices and rates of 1899 and 1902 may be helpful. The Department of Labor gives sixteen series of quotations for farm products. These are shown in the table on the next page together with the amounts of transportation purchasable with the proceeds of the sale of a single unit of each at the prices and rates of the different years.

Of the sixteen comparisons shown in the foregoing only three, and those by small percentages, show prices relatively lower in 1902 than railway rates. A quantity of cotton would purchase one-third more railway transportation in 1902 than in 1899, corn would purchase over seventy per cent. more, hay about twenty per cent. more. Live cattle and live hogs would purchase from sixteen to sixty-seven per cent. more and oats fifty per cent. more. The only farm products which would buy less were rye, a relatively unimportant crop, and live sheep. Wheat would purchase precisely the same. Similar comparisons might be made for all of the groups of commodities and with quite similar results. There is scarcely an important article of commerce which has not advanced much more rapidly since 1898 than have nominal railway rates.

Among the heaviest expenditures of the railways, aside from wages, are those for fuel and rails. In the fiscal year 1902 the former item represented an expenditure of



## RAILWAY RATES AND FARM PRICES

Commodity.	Unit.	Price per unit.		Miles of railway transportation purchasable for price of one unit.			
		1899.	1902.	For one passenger.		For one ton of freight.	
				1899.	Increase, per cent.	1899.	Increase, per cent.
Barley .....	Bushel.....	\$0.4425	\$0.6321	23	39.13	61	37.70
Cattle, steers, choice to extra..	100 pounds...	5.9928	7.4721	311	20.90	828	19.20
Cattle, steers, good to choice..	100 pounds...	5.3851	6.5572	280	17.86	744	16.40
Corn, No. 2, cash.....	Bushel.....	.3333	.5968	17	76.47	46	71.74
Cotton, upland, middling .....	Pound .....	.06578	.08932	3	33.33	9	33.33
Flaxseed, No. 1 .....	Bushel .....	1.1578	1.5027	60	26.67	160	24.38
Hay, timothy, No. 1.....	Ton .....	10.0745	12.6154	523	21.41	1392	19.68
Hides, green, salted, packers, heavy native steers.....	Pound .....	.1235	.1338	6	16.67	17	5.88
Hogs, heavy .....	100 pounds...	4.0394	6.9704	210	67.14	558	65.05
Hogs, light .....	100 pounds...	4.0709	6.7353	211	60.66	562	58.36
Hops, New York State, choice..	Pound .....	.1563	.2375	8	50.00	22	40.90
Oats, cash .....	Bushel.....	.2452	.3960	13	53.85	34	52.94
Rye, No. 2, cash .....	Bushel.....	.5521	.5418	29	*6.90	76	*5.26
Sheep, native .....	100 pounds...	3.8837	3.7817	202	*5.94	536	*6.72
Sheep, western .....	100 pounds...	4.1615	4.1784	216	*2.78	552	*4.00
Wheat, contract grades, cash..	Bushel.....	.7109	.7414	37	.....	98	.....

\*Decrease.



\$120,074,192 and the latter one of \$16,952,102. Taking prices for George's Creek coal at the mines as the standard it appears that from 1898 to 1902 bituminous coal advanced 132.88 per cent. from 91.25 cents to \$2.125 per ton. During the same time steel rails increased in price 58.87 per cent. from \$17.625 to \$28.00 per ton. At the prices of 1898 the fuel and ties which cost, together, \$137,026,294 in 1902, would have cost but \$62,230,967. If the railways paid for these two items of their necessary supplies out of their freight revenues the expenditures, at the rates and prices of 1902, represented the movement of 18,101,227,741 tons of freight one mile while at the rates of the fiscal year 1899 and the prices of the calendar year 1898 they would have represented but 8,595,437,431 ton-miles. If paid for out of passenger revenues the cost in service in 1902 was equal to carrying 6,899,611,984 passengers one mile as against 3,232,777,506 passenger-miles in 1899.

So far this paper has been restricted to the brief period of four years within which Mr. Prouty asserts that railway exactions have added greatly to the burdens of the people. It has been shown that not only is this not the case but that within the period in question producers of all classes have seen their products increase in price as compared with railway transportation so that the latter is now relatively cheaper than in 1898 or 1899, which is equivalent to saying that rates are lower than ever before. But it is not desirable to limit the inquiry exclusively to so brief a period. The statistical records of the Interstate Commerce Commission now cover a period of seventeen years and if comparisons are extended so as to cover the greater portion of this period even the notable fall in the value (purchasing power) of money can not conceal the fact that extensive reductions in railway charges have taken place. The following data are from the published reports of the Commission.



## RAILWAY RECEIPTS PER UNIT OF SERVICE

Region.	Revenue per passenger per mile, in mills.				Revenue per ton of freight per mile, in mills.			
	1890.	1895.	1899.	1902.	1890.	1895.	1899.	1902.
Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut . . . . .	19.12	18.38	18.23	17.98	13.73	12.23	11.23	11.72
New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, New York, east of Buffalo; Pennsylvania, east of Pittsburg; West Virginia, north of Parkersburg . . . . .	20.29	18.18	17.70	17.85	8.28	6.98	5.82	6.64
New York, west of Buffalo; Pennsylvania, west of Pittsburg; Michigan, lower peninsula; Ohio, Indiana . . . . .	21.99	20.82	16.25*	19.10	6.95	6.42	5.29	5.76
West Virginia, south of Parkersburg; Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina . . . . .	24.81	23.02	22.16	22.54	8.44	6.70	5.94	6.50
Kentucky, Tennessee, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, east of Mississippi river . . . . .	24.65	23.64	22.52	22.91	10.61	8.95	8.07	8.16
Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, north of St. Louis and Kansas City; South and North Dakota, east of Missouri river; Michigan, upper peninsula . . . . .	22.26	21.98	20.55	20.88	9.61	9.61	8.21	7.87
Nebraska, Wyoming, Montana, North and South Dakota, east of Missouri river; Colorado, north of Denver . . . . .	24.52	24.86	22.50	21.88	13.60	10.98	11.01	9.94
Arkansas, Indian Territory, Oklahoma Territory, Kansas, Colorado, south of Denver; Texas, panhandle; New Mexico, north of Santa Fe . . . . .	22.68	22.75	22.17	22.36	11.52	11.61	9.68	9.78
Texas, except panhandle; Louisiana, west of Mississippi river; New Mexico, north of Santa Fe . . . . .	25.83	23.98	23.34	22.62	13.03	12.53	10.65	9.84
Washington, Oregon, Idaho, California, Arizona, Nevada, Utah, New Mexico, western portion . . . . .	23.08	21.53	21.29	20.71	16.51	12.61	11.36	10.37
The United States . . . . .	21.67	20.40	19.25	19.86	9.41	8.39	7.24	7.57

\* This average is given as reported by the Interstate Commerce Commission. It does not harmonize with those for the other years and is clearly erroneous. The real average must have been about three mills higher.



The foregoing shows that, even when stated in money, freight receipts per unit of service were lower in four out of the ten divisions of the country in 1902 than in 1899 and that passenger receipts also averaged less in four divisions. The averages for both freight and passengers were lower in every division in 1902 than in 1895 and the same is true if the comparisons are with the year 1890. Surely a study of these data supports the correctness of the view held by the Commission in 1890 when it declared that:

"Careful examination of the rate schedules on file with the Commission, and a comparison of these with those that were in existence before the Act to regulate commerce was put in force, demonstrate the fact that there is from year to year a tendency toward decrease. . . . It is not believed the minimum has yet been reached, and the decrease will probably continue to be observed from year to year hereafter."

The Commission repeated this observation two years later and, with the results of an elaborate investigation of the subject before it, as well as with accurate prophetic vision, declared:

"A material and constant decline is observed both in the rates and the classifications prescribing rates; this result appears to be universal, and as stated in one of our former reports, the minimum has not yet been reached."

The foregoing statements are as applicable to the present situation as they were to that of 1890 and 1892 but changes of a fundamental character in the mechanism and practises of industry have temporarily obscured the truth and without sufficient examination of the facts at least one of the members of the Commission has been so far misled by superficial appearances that he is willing to charge the railways with action which if actually taken would have brought about industrial disaster of unprecedented violence.

The only criticism of the statistics and arguments herein



presented that is worthy of consideration is based upon the assertion that the passenger-mile and ton-mile units have been so modified by commercial changes that the revenue averages related to them no longer constitute a reliable indication of the changes in the general level of railway charges. This criticism is as unsound as the contention which it is intended to support. The growing geographical concentration of industry and the increased importance of domestic manufactures, together with the augmented consuming power of the masses of the people which has been a direct consequence of unparalleled industrial activity, has given to the railways an increasing proportion of high-grade traffic. The same causes have also resulted in enhancing the relative importance of local business. Westward-bound freight has for several years been far heavier in proportion to eastward-bound than ever before. All these things mean that there has been a decided rise in the quality of the ton-mile unit. In other words the payment per average unit is for a service of much higher and better quality than it was in the earlier years for which comparisons have been presented. Of course no one questions the improvement in the average unit of passenger service.



## 'THE ORGANIZATION'

WILLIAM HEMSTREET

POLITICIANS, with mock virtue, are demanding fealty to 'the organization,' which means all the standing committees of the party.

Caucusing, pre-arrangement, and organization are necessary to all public movement; but, upon close examination, the modern political 'organization' is found to be only an extension of the 'machine,' which is but the aggregate name for the admitted and self-perpetuated leaders of these standing committees. This 'organization' is found to be not representative of the party, as shown in the frequent repudiation of its unfit nominees. When bosses make the boast that "the organization is in good shape," they do so without either a broad political view, public spirit, or even good faith to their party. They know only that their limited train-bands and personal friends are well in hand through patronage discipline. The modern art of combination has made the organization a body of men moved by personal interest, as shown in every caucus, primary, and convention. Here and there among them is an independent or self-supporting man, but he is in politics from mere love of the game or perhaps because of a friendly zeal. But these active workers brought out to their fullest force represent only about one-fifth of the party; yet they become a perfectly drilled mass and make our law-makers. All bosses, leaders, and heelers have nests well-feathered at public expense which they defend with the ferocity that is familiar in a city where to earn a living is to fight. They are a segregated class of specialists. Their motives being selfish



and narrow, they do not come up to the ideals of popular government in its broad and benignant design. This limitation of numbers in politics, for which all the American people are more responsible than the politicians, is the breeding of every political evil and is altering the civic character of the nation. The habit of political leadership is degrading the American people in every other department of life. One man dictating to his party has excited the derision of Europe. Politics narrowed and personalized becomes vexing; but popularized, it is ennobling, stimulating, and entirely wholesome to the country.

The working politicians have no public spirit except as forced upon them by popular sentiment when they go to the higher conventions, such as State and National. As to all matters pertaining to local administration it is with them only grafting by sinecures, over-paid salaries, and unnecessary jobs. Leaders imply the corollary of persons who are led, and they safely count upon the persistent abstention of the more independent and substantial citizenship. With politicians, ballots are like bullets—no matter who delivers them or how; or they look upon a vote as we all do upon a coin, without questioning who has handled it, and caring as little for it after spent. In their social intercourse, they cajole every vulgarity, swallow every affront, and coldly suppress their own moral indignation. They know, and are sheltered by the fact, that the four-fifths of their party who keep away from preliminary politics are as docile as elephants. What would happen if that power should, by one of those popular cyclones, go to the caucuses and cut the ground from under them, is an interesting estimate. It could be done in the twinkling of an eye; then our cities would see a new era, and the nation would bound forward in security and happiness.

During all time and in all countries it has been said that politics knows no mercy. It may be added from local ex-



periences that personal politics knows no public good, veneration, or magnanimity. It takes low views of human nature and appeals to the meanest of instincts. Under the present system, local delegates are only pawns, and the men who play them do what the straight-forward American can not stoop to. Local conventions, as now dominated by personal interests, violate every natural principle of American representation, of public duty, of gratitude, and of patriotism. Limiting the numbers of practical workers in politics appeals only to what is furtive, cunning, hypocritical, and mean, like gambling. But by enlarging politics to embrace all the people, it becomes the noblest of pursuits, elevating men and the public service. But if the mass of citizens will hug their homes, clubs, business, or leisure, they must be content with what happens. Limitation of political activity to a class is just the reverse of what was counted upon in our Constitution and of what all the people could do; for the people can not be bribed, the people can not hold office, the people pay the taxes, the people would act distinterestedly and select representatives whom they know and whose competency and character have been demonstrated.

But these working politicians are American angels in comparison with citizens who will not engage in initial politics. Bosses and leaders would be tolerable as friendly experts, counselors, advisers, and moderators of the parties, were it not that public apathy has developed the boss and leader into dictators, scarcely one of whom is known as a factor in commercial, social, or intellectual affairs, although the public press is daily filled with their doings, ignoring the quiet, working, studious, professional, and substantial men that are building up the country. Devious and assiduous attention to organization politics has elevated many an unfit adventurer to distinction and wealth who had but little in him. However, but for the working



politicians our government would be in the air. They keep the machinery going; they prevent chaos and are entitled to the fees. They are enterprising like the 'forty-niners' who rushed upon newly discovered placer mines, or like Oklahomans, pell-melling for homesteads. They are only following the universal laws of self-interest, as all of us do. Every man that has become a political leader or boss has done so through the process of natural selection or survival of the fittest, like savage chieftains or the Roman emperors who rose from the ranks. They have a natural, centripetal draw, gathering about them men of blind obedience by their personal poise, strength, courage, justice, and silent magnetic attraction—that mysterious power of personal impress that is inherent in some temperaments and operates without education or adventitious circumstances. They could do better in other business. In practical politics there are all grades of personal morals. It has some cultured and high-minded men, but the average subordinates who execute obediently in the ranks are sinister, deceptive, and scruple at no act of public or personal injury. Kicked up to their vocational duties by hard masters the average city men have no more free spirit than an American mule, when business and politics dove-tail. They plot in late hours and lie awake nights concocting snares and reprisals while frank, public-spirited, and useful citizens are with their families. All this is good for the leaders, but bad for the rest of us.

Philosophers have discovered a mysterious potency in universal suffrage and have appealed to America for its illustration; but here we have only a qualified universal suffrage, a free and universal choice of one of two evils presented to us by the managers. "We are forced to believe that the government of the people by the people and for the people for which the fathers fought is today more of a theory than a reality," said President Raymond. That spontaneity that comes from a democracy is never tried in our city govern-



ments. Before we give up a government by the people let us give it a fairer trial. The neglect of preliminary politics is characteristic of cities where money-making is a craze. In those rural districts where the best citizens take charge of the caucuses, which are called town-meetings, the men who are selected are more representative of the public intelligence and welfare; and one proof of that is that in national and state conventions they rule and take precedence over city delegates. Speaker Cannon said, "When did a New York delegation ever have any influence?" We in the cities can not count on home rule until we can elect more representative men.

American political administration is not so mysterious or difficult that citizens of ordinary intelligence can not administer it. It does not require a class with special training. A political organization should not last longer than a year, or from convention to convention; it should not be self-perpetuating through committees and patronage. The party may continue, but organization should change like the administration of the government. The spontaneous convention should be the only boss; its committees and chosen spokesmen could carry on the aggressive work of the party during the interim between conventions quite as efficiently and with more economy and fairness than could the political walking delegates, called the leaders, who are self-perpetuating. Our constitutions have wisely required a fresh legislature every two years, or every year, to reflect the popular will; so a continuous organization of party bosses and leaders should be avoided, as they result only in tyranny and unassailable corruption. The machine, by claiming the backing of 'the organization,' is the protector of the lobby; it is jesuitical in its methods; it has complicated political tricks. Our return to the old-fashioned universality of political duty in its preliminaries would simplify political management. The American citizen is too intelligent to bungle, and too proud-spirited to be bungled, in conventions.



The theory of a popular government is built upon altruism. Unless we come right down to that simple sentiment there is no hope to cure our ills and forestall our ruin. Each citizen must feel the responsibility of a prince. If there must be tricks in politics, let all the people have an equal hand. The open honesty of the conventions, selected by popular will, can furnish all the finesse required, if left free of the slatings and cunning of the self-seeking managers. This is the way things were formerly. And right here is felt the treachery of politicians. They know that they live or die with the convention. If they can not win there, they had as lief see the other party win.

Nothing will cure all these evils but the whole people going to the annual caucus, a sacrifice that every American citizen ought to be willing to make, or give up the republic. Each American must take home to his private conscience this patriotic duty. A stream can not rise higher than its source. What kind of a source is an average city caucus? Practical politicians do all they can to limit its attendance; they are mortally afraid of popular discussion. Political graft thrives in secrecy like mushrooms in muck. The great need now is a place of popular assemblage in the smallest political units—the polling districts—the same as our country brothers in their town hall. The laws provide a polling booth at public expense, but do not provide a caucus or deliberating room, which is every whit as essential to a free people. This would be the great and only American forum where merit could demonstrate itself and the youth have a fair field. There the baneful influence of boss assumption would dissipate like miasma before the sun. The laws have adopted, in the state of New York at least, the primary and convention system, and now regulate and control it. The State should take a step farther and adopt the caucus, inflicting a penalty for non-attendance, as in the case of militia and jury duty. It is with shame before the world that we



shall have to acknowledge such a force bill. Every other expedient to get the American citizen to do this political duty has failed. We have advanced too far beyond the simplicity of our fathers. We have abdicated self-government, from our love of money and pleasure. Four men alone in the great Empire State, with its colossal wealth, its metropolis, its temples and palaces, its banks and universities, and its multitudes of scientific and professional men, admittedly are, at this moment, predetermining for our million and a half of voters the two men, one of whom we must choose to be governor. If we are not thus intentionally welcoming military rule we are fitting ourselves for it very fast, for the proletariat is discontented and without the guidance of religion or patriotism. We who know well the slums know their imbrutement, and that away from the blessings of mother earth many are without anything to live for and are ready with dagger and torch to howl along the streets when the spark is struck. The estrangement of classes in our sea-ports and great cities is approaching precisely that of the French Revolution, but money is in the place of royalty. Mr. Steffens shows with what frightful speed we as a people are becoming disintegrated by the electrolysis of gold. Abroad we are already called "the sham republic."

The only way to retrieve is for all the people to go back to real self-government. As we commonly choose the lesser of two evils, one of the nominees of the two parties, we could instead choose the better of two goods, if we ourselves did the nominating. As our population becomes denser and less digested we shall need our best civic ability, that which only full caucuses can select. New Zealand is a concrete proof of this. Fourteen years ago she was decadent with the worst of English influences, but now from a sudden impulse of popular primaries in direct nominations she has been transformed from almost cannibalism to the



van of the nations. Her new practise of direct nominations has solved every public problem. Although that system is not a criterion for our vast population, yet our whole electorate at the caucuses, voting on the delegates to the conventions, would effect the same result. Erecting the caucus into an official function should be the first concern of every legislator. A correct initiative is recognized as essential in all undertakings except politics—a strange perversity of public sentiment. What waste there has been of civic ability, of which there is enough in this country, if applied through the usual methods, to make the best governed and happiest people on earth. A madness of materialism has seized upon the nation. All that is written here will be at once assented to by four-fifths of our better men; but they will faintly smile and do nothing.

Throughout this country there is the shadow of a coming change. We are silently hedging more and more in quietly making farm and foreign investments. Our politics is like the humbug of war wherein all hysterically wave the flag and pat on the back the few martial temperaments who go to the front to deliver body and soul. The people have given up blindly to the 'organization,' the 'organization' has yielded to the machine, and the machine means the bosses. All that should be reversed; only then a government of the people by the people and for the people will not perish from the earth.



## HOW COLONIES ARE GOVERNED

### THE MAGNIFICENT ORGANIZATION OF ENGLAND'S COLONIAL EMPIRE

STEPHEN PIERCE DUGGAN, PH. D.

AT THE CLOSE of the American Revolution, the possessions which England still retained included only Canada, Honduras, the West African colonies, Gibraltar, the British West Indies, and Bengal and the Carnatic in India. Many believed that the country had received a death-blow in its colonial ambitions. But the period of the French Revolution was a period of great expansion. Under Wellesley, British dominion in India was widely extended; Ceylon, Guiana, and the Cape were taken from the Dutch, Mauritius from the French, and Trinidad from Spain. Malta was occupied and Australia settled. After the close of the struggle with Napoleon, a lull set in with reference to territorial expansion which lasted until quite recent times. During this early period, it is generally assumed that the attitude of the mother country toward the colonies had become more liberal as a result of the American Revolution. Nothing is more erroneous. The only direct effect the American Revolution had upon the minds of English statesmen was to create a distrust of colonial self-government as leading to inevitable revolt and independence and the first grant of responsible government to a colony, namely, that to Canada, was made not as a result of argument, nor of any belief in its efficacy, but as a result of the Canadian Rebellion of 1837 and the conviction that the Canadians would accept nothing less. And the Cana-



dian Rebellion marked a turning point in British colonial history. The succeeding period, down to the Franco-Prussian war, was the period of Liberalism, of *laissez faire*, in English history. Statesmen were engaged in reforming internal affairs, and attention was withdrawn from external matters. Freedom was the watchword. The emphasis was upon the individual and the demand was made that government should confine itself to protecting life and property. Whether trade follows the flag or not, the American Revolution showed that it will survive a change of flag, and with the introduction of free-trade the *raison-d'être* of colonies seemed to be gone. Since the mother country was to obtain no exclusive benefit from them, why should she go to the trouble and expense of maintaining them? And ought Englishmen to govern alien races without their consent? The speeches of the statesmen of the day, of Lord John Russell, Cobden, Bright, Derby show the prevailing view to have been of indifference to the colonies, of expectation that they would eventually demand their independence and of a desire to hasten that day. Men applauded Gladstone's action in ceding the Ionian islands to Greece.

But after the Franco-Prussian war another change in public opinion took place. England, whose political institutions had been regarded with affection and even reverence by the other nations during the previous period, now became their object of envy and even jealousy because of her economic superiority and colonial supremacy, and the intense spirit of nationalism which everywhere developed during the following decades, impelled them to dispute with her in both the fields of industrialism and colonialism. This antagonism produced a natural reaction in Britain. The colonies began to assume a new importance in the eyes of statesmen and the country entered upon its career of Imperialism under Disraeli. When Constantinople was



threatened by Russia during the war with Turkey, the fear for India immediately assumed its old dimensions. Britain had already secured one route to that great dependency by the acquisition of the Cape, Mauritius, and Ceylon, and she was determined to control the alternative route by way of the Suez Canal. Cyprus was acquired in 1878, Egypt occupied in 1881, and a protectorate proclaimed over Sokotra and Somaliland, over the latter in 1884. Then began the race by the great powers for dominion in Africa and the remaining unoccupied places on the surface of the earth. British supremacy was threatened at all points. The French were seizing the Niger district; the Germans acquiring extensive dominions in East and South Africa and in the Pacific, and the Portuguese were trying to unite Angola on the west with Mozambique on the east coast of Africa, which would forever prevent any union of British possessions in North with those in South Africa. The latent patriotism and ambition of Englishmen were aroused and a new wave of imperialism swept over the country, whose force has not yet been spent. Led by a statesman, a litterateur, and a promoter, Chamberlain, Kipling, and Rhodes, the British people have been inspired to great efforts to consolidate their colonial empire by the annexation of whatever territories were necessary for that purpose. To accomplish this without the intervention of the government, the seventeenth century idea of chartered companies was resurrected, and within eight years, 1881-1889, the following companies were founded: The British North Borneo Company, the Royal Niger Company, the Imperial British East Africa Company, and the British South Africa Chartered Company. The debt that Britain owes to these companies in the expansion of British power can not be overestimated. The territories which they have brought under British protection, North Borneo, Nigeria, East Africa, and Rhodesia together, cover an area of nearly



2,000,000 square miles, about two-thirds of that acquired by Britain since the race for territory began in 1884. Soon it was felt that the extension of French influence from French Kongo eastward would prevent communication between Egypt and British Central Africa and Lord Kitchener undertook the campaign which terminated in the recovery of the Sudan and put a check to French extension at Fashoda. Finally, whether rightly or wrongly, to relieve her South African colonies from the dangers of Africander ambition and to secure the Cape to Cairo route, the Boer Republics were destroyed and their territories made British colonies. Besides the possessions already described the following commercial depots have been acquired: Singapore in 1819, Hong-kong in 1841, the Fiji islands in 1874, the Strait Settlements in the '80's, and Zanzibar in 1890. Today the British Empire, outside of the United Kingdom, has an area of nearly 12,000,000 square miles, is peopled by more than 350,000,000, of whom 12,000,000 are white, has a total commerce of £475,000,000 and a revenue of £150,000,000. The total expenditure of the mother country in connection with the colonies amounts to £2,000,000 annually, mainly for military and naval purposes, and the contributions from colonial revenues in aid of military expenditure were in 1902, India £270,000, Egypt £87,000, and other colonies £390,000, a total of almost £750,000. To defend the Empire, Britain maintains a force of 63,000 of all ranks in the colonies outside of India, and another force of 73,000 in India.

The British colonial office divides the colonies proper into three classes: First, the Crown Colonies, in which the Crown controls all legislation and the administration is carried on by a Governor and a Council appointed by the Crown. Of this kind are Ceylon, Mauritius, Straits Settlements, Hong-kong, Fiji, Jamaica, Trinidad, Sierra Leone, Gambia, Gold Coast, Lagos, Falkland Isles, Honduras,



Gibraltar, St. Helena, Ascension. The character of the government of a Crown Colony will be described in another article.

Second, colonies possessing representative institutions but not responsible government, in which the Crown has no more than a veto upon legislation, but the home government retains control of public officers. This is now an exceptional form of colonial government. Most of the colonies which were in this class are now in the third class and the remainder form a subdivision of Crown Colonies. They are the British West Indies, British Guiana, Natal, and Malta. The character of their government will be described in the article on the Crown Colonies.

Third, colonies possessing representative institutions and responsible government in which the internal affairs are in no way controlled by the mother country and in which the British government has the appointment of no official except the Governor. These colonies are for all practical purposes independent states bound to the mother country by a voluntary tie of federation. They are the Dominion of Canada and Newfoundland, the Commonwealth of Australia and New Zealand, and the Cape Colony. A description of the character of government in the self-governing colonies will be given in a separate article.

But these three divisions of the colonies proper by no means exhaust the British possessions. Besides these are

Fourth, Protectorates whose essential features are according to Prof. Reinsch in his *Colonial Government*, (a) that the native authorities continue to reign and that the local institutions and customs shall not be interfered with; (b) that the protected state has political relations with the protecting power only and relinquishes the right to declare war; (c) that it admits a political resident as representative of the protecting power and thus enables the latter to exert a personal influence upon the government of the pro-



tected State. There are various kinds of protectorates, those existing in barbarous regions such as Central Africa being merely temporary expedients toward annexation, but the protectorates of Britain in the Native States of India are permanent. The Queen's Proclamation of 1858 after the Mutiny stated that the religious and social institutions of India should not in future be interfered with and that the native rulers would be maintained by Great Britain in their inherited dominions. This has been faithfully carried out and the Indian government has continued to refrain from all interference with the internal administration of the Native States. The relation of the rulers of these States to the British government is a personal one. The laws of Parliament do not apply to their dominions and the British government influences them either directly by treaty or indirectly through the Resident or by other indirect means. The area of the Native States is about 655,000 square miles and the population about 63,000,000. The remaining 985,000 square miles containing a population of 231,000,000 is under the direct control of British officials. At the head of the administration of British India is the Governor General or Viceroy who is assisted by a Council of Five appointed by the Crown, which for legislative purposes is expanded to a Council of twenty-one, the additional members being nominated by the Viceroy himself. Over the whole of India, British and Native, is placed the Secretary of State for India assisted by a council of not less than ten, the members of which are appointed by the Secretary himself and they must have had at least ten years' experience in India. The duties of the Council which has no initiative authority are, under the direction of the Secretary, to conduct the business transacted in the United Kingdom in relation to the government of India. Egypt is *de facto* a British protectorate though because of international jealousy, the British government has never de-



clared it to be such, but has relied upon continued occupation to ripen her *de facto* control into one of customary right. Other protectorates which have been declared to control the routes to India and to control its frontiers are those over Aden, Oman, Sokotra and that over Afghanistan. One of the most successful of the British Protectorates is that over the Federated Malay States declared in 1895. The African protectorates are all of the kind first mentioned, viz., a temporary form of occupation leading to annexation. They include Bechuanaland, Central Africa, East Africa, Uganda, Nigeria and Zanzibar. The affairs of most of the protectorates are administered by the Foreign Office and are not controlled by the colonial office.

V. Chartered Companies. Immense districts have been, and some still are, under the authority of chartered companies. These companies were granted the power to appoint all officers necessary for the administration of their territories, to make all ordinances necessary for the maintenance of law and order, and to levy whatever taxes were necessary for the expenses of government. The appointment of the Governor of the territory must be confirmed by the home government, and the latter controls not only the foreign affairs of the company, but also its relations with the natives. The companies can not transfer any of their concessions except by consent of the government and they must maintain freedom of commerce within their dominions. As a matter of fact, the companies engage but little in commerce, being occupied in the industrial exploitation of their territories, the development of mines, forests, and agricultural lands. They have opened up immense areas by means of roads and railways, founded towns and assisted immigrants, and then when their work had been brought to fruition, the entire possessions of the Royal Niger Company were transferred to the British government for the paltry sum of £865,000, and those of the East Africa Com-



pany for the nominal sum of £50,000. Truly has this been a work of patriotism! The territories of the British North Borneo Company and of the South Africa Company are still under their administration.

VI. Spheres of Influence. This term has a variety of meanings, the most accurate of which is "a territory within which a State on the basis of treaties with neighboring colonial powers, enjoys the exclusive privilege of exercising political influence and of eventually bringing the region under its direct political control." Of such are the spheres determined by the Anglo-French and Anglo-German treaties with reference to Africa. The British and French spheres in Siam were created by the treaty of 1896. But the term is also used in a more lax manner without a treaty relation for a basis, e. g. Great Britain claims the entire Persian Gulf littoral as within her sphere and maintains the anomalous Persian Gulf Political Agency at Bushire to look after her interests in that region. Of the very informal spheres claimed by the Great Powers in China little need be said, they are so far removed from the normal. China has made an agreement with Great Britain never to alienate any part of the Yang-tze basin or the province of Yun-nan to any other power. Such an agreement would probably cut little figure were a partition actually agreed upon.

VII. Military Government. Gibraltar is a Crown Colony under the Military, and Ascension another under the Admiralty. After the Boer war, the Transvaal and the Orange River Colonies were placed under military government. The administration is now carried on by a Governor and an Executive Council and the general aim will be to provide a constitution under which self-government may be granted as soon as circumstances permit.

As has already been indicated the central administration of colonial affairs in Great Britain is divided among three



offices: the Secretary of State for the Colonies who administers the affairs of the Colonies proper; the Secretary of State for India who controls Indian affairs; and the Foreign Office which directs the affairs of the Protectorates. The Colonial Office is without exception the most efficient branch of British administration. The real head of the office is the Permanent Under Secretary, the Parliamentary Secretary and Under Secretary being politicians of the party which is in control of affairs. He is assisted by a corps of secretaries and clerks all of whom are university men who have been promoted from lower positions. Entrance to the colonial civil service is obtained through competitive examination and promotion is made on the basis of efficiency and seniority. Lord Curzon has recently abolished the system of civil service examinations as applying to the natives of India, having found that the Hindus because of their prodigious memories were easily able to pass examinations though frequently totally lacking in the personal qualities of initiative and self-reliance so necessary in the administration of a live government.

Such is the magnificent empire won by the Briton, an empire in comparison to which the Roman seems small. No people has succeeded as the British have in the administrative control of subject states, in the economic development of new countries, and in the industrial pacification of savage peoples. And in recent times at least, British colonies have been governed for their own benefit not for that of the Imperial exchequer. And the spirit of loyalty that has been evoked is finding expression today in an attempt to strengthen and tighten the cords that bind Britain to her colonies.



## RICE CULTURE IN THE SOUTHWEST

DAY ALLEN WILLEY

IN THE transformation of waste places in the United States into productive territory, the farmer and fruit grower have attained results surprising in their magnitude, for they have gone into regions generally believed to be less fertile than farms and orchards in the older settled portions of the country. The unexpected has happened in many instances. Valleys and hill-sides in California, apparently sterile, have been converted into vineyards and orchards that are yielding almost as much in value as the State's deposits of minerals. The great vegetable garden stretching along the Atlantic coast from Hampton Roads to southern Florida was practically unknown twenty years ago, yet today it supplies a large population from the beginning of November until the opening of spring in the Northern States.

Another striking illustration of this nature is presented in the results the farmer has achieved in rice-culture in the southwest. From a point near the Mississippi river to the banks of the Brazos in Texas, a strip of country extends about four hundred miles, with a width varying from twenty to fifty miles, which has been known as "prairie," from the fact that in the past it was principally devoted to pasturing ponies and the few cattle raised by those who resided on it. Here and there rice was raised in patches of an acre or so, being sown in the natural depressions where water from the rain-falls would accumulate. The crop depended almost entirely upon nature, and for this reason was given the name of Providence rice. From the time the



French Acadians migrated from Nova Scotia into southwestern Louisiana up to twenty years ago, this was the method pursued in growing rice, while it was harvested with the sickle and threshed with a wooden flail. Here and there in the district can still be seen hollow wooden blocks and pestles with which the natives originally loosened the hull. Later the rice was sent to the few mills located in other portions of the south to be prepared for market for the dealers in the nearest cities who bought it from the natives, usually exchanging groceries, clothing, and other supplies.

The few bushels produced on this prairie land annually were scarcely sufficient to be considered as a portion of the national rice crop. Such a change has been effected however that the southwestern country will probably be as important twenty years hence as the other fields in the South Atlantic and gulf states were twenty years ago, by reason of the increased area under cultivation. At present the land represents about 400,000 acres—a mere dot on the map when compared with the vast agricultural territory cut in twain by the Missouri and the part west of the Mississippi river, which forms one of the great granaries of the world—but when it is remembered that practically every acre has been placed under irrigation within the last seventeen years, and that from 50,000 to 75,000 acres of new land are being added yearly to the farms, the significance of the development can be better appreciated. The industry has already attracted fully 25,000 householders from the north, east and west. The fields give employment to at least 60,000 other people, and it may be said that many families in the rural districts depend on this grain for their support, while cities and towns that have sprung up, owe their existence to the same source.

To go a little further into statistics, the aggregate capital invested by the farmers alone is estimated to be nearly



\$35,000,000, represented by the land, the canals, and the pumping stations. The industry has placed Louisiana first among the States in the production of rice, as it contains 60 per cent. of the total acreage, and its harvests represent 65 per cent. of the entire production, which includes also the fields of Hawaii. Its combined farms are 25 per cent. greater in area than the rice territory of North and South Carolina and Georgia.

The country is well adapted to the methods of agriculture pursued, and one notes a striking similarity between this and the processes employed on the great grain farms in other portions of the United States. It is a remarkable fact that no swampy or marsh land is utilized as is the case elsewhere in the South, and the natural conditions are very different from those in Japan and China, for the grower of the southwest irrigates his field by an entirely different system. Nature has provided an abundance of water, the rice belt being traversed by no less than ten navigable rivers as well as by a number of smaller streams. The surface is so undulating that natural ridges can be utilized to advantage in making levees or banks of the canals and converting the fields into reservoirs during the flooding season. Usually the soil turned up by the ditching plow is sufficiently compact after it has been packed down, to hold the water, as the embankment is of sufficient width to withstand the pressure, and there is little danger of a crevasse. The earth walls are of a height and thickness proportionate to the size of the canal. The side canals or ditches that supply the fields are connected with the main or feed canals usually by wooden gates set in a framework of timber anchored in the canal walls. The gates can be raised or lowered by hand, and the flow of water is easily controlled. As the water required every twenty-four hours to irrigate an acre of rice ranges from 12,000 to 15,000 gallons, according to the quality of the soil, and some of the canal systems sup-



ply 25,000 acres, the main conduits are of great size, some being from 75 to 100 feet in width and from 5 to 7 feet in depth, the contents perhaps being distributed over two score of plantations, each comprising from 50 to 1000 acres.

The irrigation system is one of the most extensive that has yet been planned in this country, for all of the fields are supplied with water through artificial channels. In addition to supply obtained from the rivers and creeks, however, water is also obtained from a great natural reservoir which extends throughout the rice belt of Louisiana and, it is believed, far into Texas. The bottom of this reservoir is a hard clay formation that prevents the water from escaping, and it has been found in such quantities that engineers believe it to be practically inexhaustible. Wells sunk to a depth of 25 to 200 feet have been utilized throughout the region. The usual method is to sink pipes of 2 to 10 inches in diameter, connecting them with a pumping system of adequate capacity. The rivers and creeks are turned into the canals by steam power, some of the pumping stations having a capacity for lifting 200,000 gallons a minute to a height of twenty to forty feet. Where the land is comparatively level, the head of the canal may consist of flumes or aqueducts built at a considerable elevation above the surface. In some systems the water is conveyed several miles and again elevated by steam power, being carried in artificial inclines. As the extent of the crop depends upon a continuous water supply, the systems are constructed with great care and the machinery includes pumps and boilers of very large capacity and of the most modern type. The general plan is for a company to construct an irrigation system that will supply the fields in a certain area, taking forty per cent. of the crop in payment. It contracts with the grower to furnish a sufficient quantity throughout the flooding season, which is about seventy days. Many of the growers, especially in the districts where wells have been



sunk, have their individual water works and depend upon them for their supply. The average cost of sinking sufficient wells for 200 acres of rice ranges from \$1500 to \$2000, and for 500 acres about \$3500. The expense of maintaining these plants, including the interest on the money invested in them, insurance, labor, and fuel, ranges from \$1 to \$2 an acre for the season. The horse power required for pumping sufficient to irrigate 100 acres by the well system is comparatively small, as the water rises to a considerable extent in all of the wells by natural pressure. In southeastern Texas a ten-inch well has been sunk to a depth of 200 feet at a cost of \$650. To secure the water from it a California propeller pump was installed at a cost of \$250 driven by a twenty-horse power engine which cost \$100. This plant was sufficient to irrigate 250 acres of land during the season at a total annual outlay for expenses of \$400. This represents one of the largest systems supplied by wells in the Southwest, the average serving from 150 to 250 acres and requiring from twelve to sixteen-horse power. The companies controlling large canal systems that obtain water from various streams in some cases utilize 2500 horse power—sufficient to supply water for a large city.

A unique feature of this industry in the Southwest is the way of preparing the soil, cultivating and harvesting the crop. One is reminded of the great farms of the West and evidently these modern rice-growers have profited by the labor-saving methods employed in Kansas, in the Dakotas, and in other states that produce the bulk of American cereals. As already noted, in the method pursued swamps and marsh land can not be utilized, and the fields are so laid that at the end of the flooding season they can be drained within a week or fortnight, so the ground will bear the weight of the heavy machinery used for harvesting. They are plowed, however, as the wheat farmer turns up the fur-



rows on his land. The horse drill and cultivator are also used in seeding. When the seeds have sprouted and the shoots extend a few inches out of the ground, the gates are opened and the rice belt is turned into an inland sea until early autumn when the grain is matured sufficiently to require no further moisture. After the fields have dried sufficiently, the grain is cut and bound entirely by machinery. It is threshed by steam power, mechanism being used not only to separate the kernel from the chaff and straw but to fill the bags with the rice ready for the mill, piling the straw into stacks. As the grain matures almost simultaneously throughout the rice belt, the work of securing it requires a large amount of machinery and it is estimated that no less than 5000 harvesters are employed during the week or ten days required for gathering the crops, each machine equaling the labor of forty men.

Another advantage to the rice grower is the proximity of the mills that prepare the cereal for the market. Plants of sufficient capacity to treat nearly all of the crop have been erected in the towns throughout the district—Crowley, Louisiana—milling nearly 1,000,000 barrels of rice yearly. The machines not only remove the hull and other foreign matter from the kernel, but give to the rice that glistening appearance or polish, which enhances its market value. The system is so complete that from the time the rough rice is poured into the receptacle at one end of the building, it is not touched by hand until the finished kernels, the hulls, and other products are taken from bins at the other end.

During 1902 about 10,000 railway cars of the average capacity were required to haul the product of the South-western rice fields to market. The crop at present averages about 2,000,000 barrels annually and could supply two-thirds of the present consumption in the United States. When it is remembered that this is merely what has been accomplished on a tenth of the area that is available for cul-



tivation in Louisiana and Texas, an idea of the possibilities of the region can be gained.

At this point the question arises whether the Southwestern rice-grower can produce the grain as cheaply as foreign growers. As to this, experts admit that the rice in Louisiana and Texas is equal in quality to the bulk of that grown in China and Japan as well as in other portions of the United States, and that it is placed on the market in as good condition. Abundant statistics are available to estimate the expense of cultivation and harvesting in the Orient. As is well known the Chinese as well as the Japanese seed the land, weed it, and harvest the grain entirely by hand. Consequently one man can not cultivate over a half-acre of ground. He is content, however, to get a revenue that in American money would be \$20 or \$25 a year; and this fact must be taken into consideration in making a comparison. On the average rice farm of Louisiana or Texas one man with four mules or horses can actually plant and harvest 100 acres, by means of artificial irrigation. During harvest-time he requires on an average the aid of one additional hand. The crop of 100 acres is seldom less than 700 barrels. If a farmer buys 120 acres at \$20 an acre—a little more than the average price—his buildings and fencing cost \$500. Adding to this his well and machinery, makes a total outlay of \$3600. The interest on this investment at 6 per cent. is \$216; his annual taxes represent \$20; the seed about \$125; sacks, \$70; while his fuel and labor cost \$600. An average crop will represent 1000 barrels. Estimating \$3.00 a barrel as the selling price, his gross receipts for the rice are \$3000. In addition to the items of expense already referred to, the cost for the labor of plowing on an average is \$120, seeding \$60, harvesting \$250, threshing \$300, hauling to market \$120, levee repairs \$50. After deducting all of these items of expense, a balance is left of \$1069 or about 30 per cent. of the



capital invested. These figures are taken direct from the books of a Louisiana planter who has been cultivating this area alone, requiring only addition help during the harvest season. Where water is secured from one of the canal companies the rental of 40 per cent. of the crop may be substituted for the expense represented by the cost of the pumping plant, fuel and several other items. It can be said, however, that the expense of cultivation to the farmer who buys his water yearly is from 20 to 25 per cent. more than where he has his own pumping plant.

The agricultural and social development resulting from the influx of people and capital into the section referred to has progressed far beyond the experimental stage and can be said to exist on a permanent basis. It has actually resulted in the formation of a new group or community that is well worth studying. The residents of the towns and cities are as dependent upon the soil as are the rice-growers themselves. Prior to the division of this prairie land into fields, intersected by a network of canals reaching from one end of the cultivated district to the other, there was no incentive for town building; and had it not been for the efforts of the little group of Iowa farmers who first began growing rice by modern methods, the country would probably still be as poor and as sparsely settled as a half century ago.

As the growers have prospered, those depending on them have prospered, also, and the money into which the harvests have been converted has been distributed in a variety of ways. While the farmers have taken advantage of science and invention to aid them by employing labor-saving machinery, they have not neglected public improvements. Their profits have established banks and aided in the growth of these communities in other ways. Today this section of the United States contains many cities and villages ranging from 8000 to 10,000 persons, some having sewerage as well



as adequate water and light works, school buildings, churches, court houses, and other public edifices that would be a credit to any portion of the country; yet the majority have had an existence of but a decade and some of them were built on open prairie.

In a tour of southwestern Louisiana and eastern Texas it is easy for one to imagine oneself in a Kansas or Nebraska town for everywhere prevails the hustle and bustle of the west.

The belief is prevalent that the consumption of rice in the United States has but begun. Apparently rice is considered an occasional rather than a staple food, served merely to vary a menu; although a very large quantity is used annually by the Southerners, both white and negroes, with whom it is a regular article of diet. It is unnecessary to refer to the opinion of chemists who class the cereal as among the most beneficial of foods, and cite the vigor and hardihood of the Japanese and other Eastern races who subsist so largely upon it, as illustrations of its good properties.

The Southwestern rice-grower is looking to the future, and, although he has good reason to be content with the results already attained, he is far from being satisfied. He desires to compete with the Japanese and Chinese in the markets of the world—to send his rice to the Asiatic market, for he believes that a quality equal if not superior to the home-grown cereal can be sold in eastern Asia at a profit, yet lower than the native can sell it. He argues that the construction of the Panamá canal means an incentive to a further development of the rice territory that will cause the present activity to seem small in comparison; for the canal means a direct route not only to the great market of the East, but to the Pacific coast of both Americas.



## EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE

MR BRYAN has served notice upon the Democratic party that while he intends to support the ticket, he has no faith in it. As soon as the election is over, he and those who believe with him will undertake to re-organize the party for the campaign of 1908 on the lines of "a radical and progressive policy." This "contest for economic and political reform," he declares, "will begin as soon as the polls close and be continued until success is achieved." Whatever may be said of the wisdom of Mr Bryan's policy, it is surely courageous. Had Judge Parker shown half as much courage as this, he probably would not have been nominated.

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MR BRYAN's announcement of his support of the Democratic ticket is a real case of damning by faint praise. The one sane feature of the Democratic ticket, the candidate, Mr Bryan belittles and almost scorns. He says "the tariff plank is good, the anti-trust plank is a good one," and the silence on the money question was a concession to him.

These are excellent reasons for not accepting it. Anything on the tariff, on trusts, and on money that Mr Bryan calls good, may be safely taken as very bad; and the fact that he is so very much opposed to Judge Parker is perhaps one of the strongest things that can be said in favor of his election. It must be admitted, however, that he is one of the most frank, straight-forward, courageous men in the Democratic party, beside whom such men as Williams and Hill seem trifling politicians.

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JUDGE PARKER's telegram to the St. Louis convention seems to have put new life into the Democratic hosts. In



fact, it is their only hope. Without this, the platform was a deadly sinker. Yet, how small an element of strength for the nation that telegram really is? It simply says that Judge Parker personally regards the gold standard as irrevocably established; but on all the other bad features of the platform Judge Parker may be expected to stand with his party.

The fact that so small a matter could create a ripple, not to say a strong current in favor of Democratic success, especially from the Wall Street point of view, shows how deep the distrust of Mr Roosevelt is in business and financial circles. In playing the rôle of autocrat and trust-buster, he at least pleased the galleries. He raised his prospects very high among the cow-boy and mountain states, but he sent it down with a thud with the manufacturing and business-developing interests of the country.

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A SMALL number of mugwump papers of the New York 'Post' and Boston 'Herald' type, have tried desperately to make it appear that there was an extensive but repressed Cleveland 'boom.' No greater imposition was ever palmed off on the public. There was no such boom. There was no popular demand for Cleveland anywhere. Nobody outside of a few college professors and mugwump editors showed the slightest desire for Cleveland's reappearance in public life. The great business institutions and great labor interests of the nation would have had a deadly dread of any such thing. They remember too well his influence upon the vital interests of the nation. He had all the pugnacity of Roosevelt, with similar indifference to sane advice and public opinion. Nobody wanted Cleveland again as President, and there was never the slightest danger of any enthusiasm for him either at St Louis or in the country. If any job had been put up by which he had been foisted upon the convention, his nomination would have solidified all



the active forces of the country against him. He would have had no more chance of election than would Bryan or Hearst. There was no Cleveland 'boom,' and there is not wind enough in all the mugwump press of the country to make one.

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PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT has many traits that the people like, but he has some that nobody can endure very long. While he is personally honest, he will not take advice and has boundless self-assurance, not always born of experience or sound principle. This he has shown with such persistency during his presidency that he has to a considerable extent alienated both the experienced men in his party and men of great affairs in the nation.

Will he pursue this personal policy if elected? If it seems likely that he will, the people may be willing to take another kind of risk with Parker. The Republican platform is sane and safe on great national questions; but how about its candidate? If Mr Roosevelt will be as rational toward the economic interests of the country as the platform is, there ought to be no doubt about his election; but, in view of his conduct, he will have to be very pronounced in order to be thoroughly trusted. If, in his letter of acceptance, he defends his policy of personal government, he may sacrifice his success. The American people believe in protection and business development, and on these questions have confidence in the Republican party; but it is not at all clear that they have the same faith in the personal policy of Mr Roosevelt.

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IN HIS REVIEW of the Republican platform Mr Bryan says: "There is in all the enumeration no act which is declared to be in the interest of labor, although without the labor vote the party would not have a majority in a half dozen states."



This is another illustration of Mr Bryan's unfairness as a critic. That he should disagree with the Republican platform and policy is quite natural for a man who has been twice the presidential nominee of the Democratic party; but to say that the Republican party did not dare to say a word in the interest of labor is pure misrepresentation, and could have been made only on the assumption that the readers of the 'Commoner' are not readers of the daily press.

Mr Bryan knows, whether his readers do or not, that President Roosevelt has lost favor with a certain class of employers for the pronounced action he has taken in the interest of labor. His attitude in the coal strike was all in favor of the strikers and of the miners' union, and to a portion of the employing class it was a grave offense. Opposition to protection and to everything the Republican party does or says may be legitimate in a rabid partizan like Mr Bryan, but misrepresentation is creditable to no one.

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THOSE GOLD STANDARD Democrats who are in such high glee about the inspiring influence of Judge Parker occupy a peculiar position in the coming campaign. They have railed against Mr Roosevelt for his dictatorial attitude, and are advocating Parker because he will be an autocrat. The New York 'Times' exclaims:

Shall all of President Roosevelt's errors be condoned and all of his usurpations of power and his encroachment on the legislative domain be approved and a new license be issued him?

It is no hour for prating, as Mr Littleton did, says the 'Evening Post,' about a candidate who is the *servant* of his party. That party needs a *master*. It requires a nominee who will spit upon the treacheries and poltrooneries of the delegates at St Louis, and will make his own financial platform.



Thus, while denouncing the autocrat in Roosevelt, they are relying upon the autocrat in Parker, declaring that upon his masterful dictation alone will the country be safe with a Democratic administration.

Are the American people ready openly to accept this doctrine of one-man power? It is one thing to have an autocrat in the White House by accident, but quite another to put one there by choice.

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THERE CAN BE NO doubt about the position of the Democratic party on the money question. Outside of a few Cleveland Democrats, the leaders and the rank and file both in and out of Congress and the Democratic press accept the quantity theory of money. This theory teaches that the value of money increases as the quantity diminishes. In other words, that as the volume of money diminishes prices fall, and as the volume increases prices rise. Bryan, John Sharp Williams, Hill, and probably every active man in the St. Louis Convention accepts this theory. This is the doctrine upon which the whole free-silver campaign was waged.

Should the nation undergo an industrial depression and there should be a general fall of prices, which the Democratic tariff policy would surely bring, we might rely upon it that the Democratic party would demand an increase in the volume of metallic money through a greater use of silver.

There is nothing in the platform, there is nothing the party has ever done, there is nothing in the speech of Mr Williams or of other leaders, and there is nothing in Judge Parker's telegram to prevent this policy. Judge Parker would undoubtedly veto a bill for free silver, but at the request of his party, he might sanction such a policy in the honest belief that the quantity theory of money is sound.

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ONE OF THE strongest compliments the Republican platform has received is the fact that it is very unsatisfactory to Mr Bryan. The 'Commoner' devotes a whole page to it, without really making a serious point against it. On the tariff plank it has this watery paragraph:

If the writers of that platform had been entirely frank they would have said that the policy of protection in the United States has raised tariff barriers against this country in most of the countries of Europe and that retaliation against the United States is the main argument of those who advocate protection in England. So much for the tariff plank of the platform.

Besides being weak, this is untrue. The truth as to the English situation is that, by adopting the free-trade policy, England has neglected her agriculture and failed to develop her home market, and after fifty years' experience finds herself losing her foreign trade. The only competitor in foreign markets that she really fears is the United States, whose home development has grown apace under the operation of protection. England is also facing the discouraging fact of American competition in the English market. This fact has finally gone home to the English manufacturers, and English statesmen of the largest outlook have long realized it and at last have found the courage to face the free-trade dogma, and boldly declare that the prophecies of free trade have not been fulfilled, and that as a national policy it has failed.

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THE WAY the New York 'Evening Post' is posing and shouting itself hoarse over "Judge Parker's unexampled political courage" would be amusing if it were not disgusting. It is to be expected that the 'Post' would support the Democratic nominee; it usually does; but to pretend that Judge Parker's telegram was an exhibition of "unexampled political courage" is the veriest fustian. It was a straight-



forward announcement that he thinks the gold standard is irrevocably established, but that announcement was made with the very minimum of courage. For bravery, it does not compare with Mr Bryan's announcement to the Kansas City convention, in which he demanded that the convention reaffirm all the Chicago platform and insert several other Bryan ideas, or he would not accept the nomination; and he did this before the platform was adopted or the nomination was made. Judge Parker was as mute as a clam until after he had been nominated. He knew, and all his henchmen knew, that his nomination probably depended upon his silence on that question, and he refrained from opening his mouth for fear of losing the prize. This may be called shrewd politics, and a shrewd way of dealing with the convention, but it can not be called "unexampled political courage."

The 'Post' complains that Republican papers are making little of this "courageous" act, but this attitude is forced upon candid critics by the silly and unseemly shouting of the 'Post' about this evidence of honesty being "unexampled political courage."

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MR GEORGE LYNCH, who represented the London Daily 'Chronicle' in the Spanish-American war, the 'Illustrated London News' in the Boer war, and was an English newspaper correspondent in China during the Boxer campaign, has interviewed a large number of prominent Japanese regarding Japan's terms of peace. The result he relates in the 'Outlook,' of July 16.

He says there was a remarkable unanimity of opinion that Japan would not even try to keep Port Arthur, but would be ready to return it to China. Regarding Manchuria, the opinions expressed strongly favored restoring it to China, with perhaps a reservation of some railway concessions. The weight of opinion, as ascertained by Mr



Lynch's interviews, strongly indicates that all Japan wants is that Russia should do what she promised to do last October, namely, evacuate Manchuria. This promise was squarely made to Japan and to the civilized world, and was flagrantly broken, and thoroughly established Russia's bad faith. Of course, Japan would expect an indemnity to defray the expenses of the war. Less than that could not be expected.

If this is really the attitude of Japan, and it is consistent with everything she has done thus far, it would be the most moderate and non-vindictive policy ever pursued by a victorious nation, with the single exception of our treatment of Spain. Such a policy would put Japan in the front rank, not only as a military and naval power, but as a high-minded and humane nation.

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COMPETENT observers of the tragedy now being performed in the Far East are being convinced of the erroneous estimate the world has put upon the real power of Russia. All nations stood in awe of the blustering, bragging Slav. Though Russian military men and diplomatists succeeded in impressing both public men and the people by their boastfulness, the awe of Russian power is vanishing in every quarter. Those who believed in Russian superiority have become silent. Every day's doings in the Far East confirm the opinion that in a few months the prestige of Russia as a marauding monster to be appeased and feared by all the earth will be gone and the empire of the White Tsar will be seen at its true worth. The New York 'Journal of Commerce' admirably states the case of Russia thus:

The demonstrated inability of Russia to hold her own against Japan, either by land, or sea, means more than naval and military incapacity; it is a convincing proof of the rottenness of the whole governmental system of the



empire, and of the perilous insecurity of the foundation on which that system has been reared. It appeared to Prince Ukhtomsky, the companion of the present Tsar on his travels in the Far East, that "the wings of the Russian eagle are spread too widely over the East to leave the slightest doubt of a future in which Asiatic Russia will mean all Asia." This vaulting ambition was held by other members of the family of nations to be a serious menace to human progress, but there was everywhere a vague foreboding that it might attain its end. All Europe stood in awe of the military power which has collapsed like a bubble at the pricking of the spear of Japan.

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THE SPECIOUSNESS of the republican platform reciprocity talk is thoroughly understood by the business men of this country to whom the system embodied in the reciprocity idea appeals most strongly. Taken in connection with the record the republican leaders of the senate have made in suppressing all of the reciprocity treaties negotiated during the past seven years, the tariff plank of the republican platform can mean but one thing—"stand pat."—Atlanta 'Constitution.'

It is complimentary to the 'Constitution' that it so correctly understands the real meaning of the Republican platform on reciprocity. Of course, the 'Constitution' is not supposed to agree with the Republican platform on anything, but it is always satisfying to be understood by those who do not agree with us. The 'Constitution' is entirely right—the platform means "stand pat." The Republicans refused to pass the Kasson treaties, even with the coercion of Mr Roosevelt, and it would have deserved to be turned out of power if it had passed them, every one of them being a violent sacrifice of one or more domestic industries. If those treaties are to be passed at all, it is fitting that the Democratic party, as a pronounced enemy of protection should pass them. The 'Constitution' is right—"the Republican platform reciprocity talk is thoroughly understood by the business men of the country." All the business men,



except importers, will endorse it, and that will be one of the strong points in favor of the Republican ticket. Reciprocity in competing products in an ingenious and plausible way of surreptitiously undermining protection. Against this policy, all who believe in protection should be solidly arrayed.

If the 'Constitution' is opposed to protection, it should very properly be opposed to the Republican platform on reciprocity. On that subject the platform should deceive no one. If the people of the South want their manufacturing industries to prosper in the next ten years as they have in the last five, they too had better "stand pat."

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THESE WORDS of solemn warning and wholesome advice were given by Ex-secretary Root in his address before the Yale law students:

The more frequently men who hold great power in office are permitted to override the limitations imposed by law upon their powers, the more difficult it becomes to question anything they do; and the people, each one weak in himself and unable to cope with powerful officers who regard any questioning of their acts as an affront, gradually lose the habit of holding such officers accountable, and practically surrender the right ultimately to hold them accountable. Constant accountability of public officers for strict observance of the limits imposed by law and custom and undoubting assertion of the private right of the citizen to have no power exercised over him except in strict accordance with the letter and the spirit of the law—these are the essential conditions of free government and personal independence.

The following day Ex-secretary Olney delivered an address before the law graduates at Harvard, which conveyed the same warning. It is significant that Mr Cleveland's Secretary of State and Mr Roosevelt's Secretary of War should both feel so strongly the danger to our institutions from the growing individual authority in high places and



the disregard of the constitutional restrictions to official power. They are both great lawyers, both practical, sensible men, both believers in the spirit and letter of domestic institutions, and they have both served in the cabinet of arrogant, over-reaching, autocratic Presidents.

Mr Cleveland set the pace for executive disregard of the representative branches of the government. He snubbed and practically ignored both branches of Congress. Mr Roosevelt has carried the same spirit even farther than Cleveland did. He has not only snubbed Representatives and Senators, but he has publicly challenged and coerced Congress. In the same spirit, he literally dictated the whole action of the party convention, and appointed, against the protests of the party leaders, his private secretary as chairman of the National Committee.

This sort of thing may be well enough for once, but "the more frequently men who hold great power in office are permitted to override the limitations imposed by law upon their powers, the more difficult it becomes to question anything they do."

There are no two men in the country better fitted to warn the country against this dangerous tendency than Mr Root and Mr Olney. They have been nearer the danger line and seen more of the autocratic tendency of the President than any other two men in the country. Their words are the words of wisdom, and should be taken to heart by the American people.



## QUESTION BOX

### Savings Bank Deposits as an Index of the Condition of the Wage Class

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir: Will you please state in your next issue which country has the largest savings bank account *per capita*; the United States, England, Germany, or France? If, as I imagine, the United States has the largest, it would seem a good argument in favor of protection.

G. H. GUDEBROD.

New York.

The question asked by our correspondent is important enough, if the facts are not misinterpreted. It is a common assumption that savings bank deposits are a sure indication of the general industrial condition of the laboring class, the conclusion being that those laborers who have the largest savings bank accounts receive the highest wages.

This is an error. On the contrary, it very often happens that the laborers who receive the highest wages have very small, if any, deposits in the savings banks. For instance, nobody will pretend that the laborers in Austria are more prosperous or receive higher wages than the laborers in England, yet the savings bank account *per capita* in Austria is nearly \$11 higher than it is in Great Britain; and in Prussia the savings bank deposits are more than \$20 *per capita* higher than in Canada. If this were any criterion, then the wages are nearly four times as high in Prussia as in Canada; whereas they are much higher in Canada.

The following table gives the average deposit account and the amount *per capita* in the different countries of Europe, also Japan, India, Australasia, and the United States:



Countries.	Period.	Average deposit account.	Average deposit per inhabitant.
Russia (in Europe) .....	1903	\$108.76	\$3.48
Finland.....	1900	86.61	5.87
Germany .....	1900	141.52	37.32
Prussia.....	1901	151.38	39.67
Austria.....	1901-02	177.29	33.47
Hungary.....	1900	236.09	14.85
United Kingdom.....	1902	88.80	22.86
France.....	1901	77.35	21.94
Italy .....	1901	71.70	13.30
Belgium .....	1901	78.69	22.08
Holland .....	1900-01	55.58	13.48
Norway.....	1901	124.06	38.52
Sweden .....	1901	76.87	27.71
Denmark .....	1901	150.00	71.95
Japan .....	1901-02	5.51	.80
India .....	1901	39.90	.14
Australasia .....	1901-02	155.94	14.26
Canada .....	1902	27.60	10.88
Average .....	.....	100.54	10.43
United States.....	1903	417.21	36.52

It will be seen from the above that the savings bank deposits bear practically no relation to the industrial progress of the countries. For instance, the savings *per capita* in Denmark are nearly twice as much as the United States, and in the United States more than three times as much as in Canada. In Australasia the deposits *per capita* are \$14.26, or only one-fifth as much as those of Denmark, and less than one-half as much as those of Germany, or Prussia, or even of Austria.

As an indication, either of wages or of the welfare of the wage class, savings bank deposits are very misleading. As a rule they do not represent the wage-workers at all. In this country, for instance, a very large portion, in some states more than half, the deposits in savings banks are not put there by wage-workers, but by people of moderate means, who want to get a large rate of interest for safe



deposit. It is a common thing for such people to have deposits in several savings banks, because the amount permitted each depositor is limited. Among the wage class it generally occurs, as already observed, that laborers receiving the best wages have no deposits at all; and the reason for this is that they have a higher standard of living.

As a matter of fact, the number of deposits in savings banks in this country is largely made up of immigrants, a relatively small portion of depositors being Americans. The fact that so many immigrants have bank accounts is often used as an evidence of their superior thrift and energy; but if this is true, why do they never have any savings in their own country? It may be replied that wages are too low there to permit of a margin; but why are wages too low to permit of a margin? Why is it that there is no margin for the best class of Chinamen in China, Germans in Germany, Englishmen in England, while there is a margin in another country? The obvious answer is that there is no margin over which the best class of laborers can save in their own country. The reason for this is that the general rate of wages in all countries is determined by the standard of living of the most expensive laborers; and they can get wages that will leave a margin over the cost of living only by going where the price of labor is determined by a social character and standard of living higher than their own; or, in their own country, by adopting a standard of living lower than the highest of the class to which they socially belong. This is a part of the law of wages to which reference was made in the last issue, in discussing the question "Should Married Women Remain Wage-Earners?"

Thus the savings of wage-earners is not a criterion of the standard of wages in the country, but rather an evidence of the social difference existing in the labor class. The savings bank deposits *per capita* in the United States



are \$36.52; but in Denmark they are \$71.95; in Norway \$38.52; in Austria \$33.47; in Prussia \$39.67; in Germany \$37.32. Nobody conversant with the facts will pretend that the laborers of Germany, Prussia, Austria, Norway, and Denmark receive higher wages and enjoy a higher standard of material welfare than the laborers of the United States; but it is true that in those countries laborers, particularly single men, have a greater habit of saving than have American laborers. This means they spend less, not that they earn more.

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### **Has the Steel 'Trust' Had a Good Effect on Business?**

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir: May I ask Professor Gunton (if he deem proper) to show whether the course of the steel 'trust' has verified his expectation? I recall that he expected the 'trust' to maintain prices, and thereby to strengthen independent mills. This, I understand from an editorial in the Philadelphia 'North American,' has been done. I recall, also, that he expected so vast and valuable a business to call to its leadership the best ability. Has it not failed? Rather, have not the best men sold out to the 'trust,' and used their capital to start independent mills?

Is J. D. Rockefeller really putting his genius into the steel 'trust'?

J. F. SHEPPARD.

The United States Steel Corporation has been handicapped by the fact that, since its first organization, it has had to fight extraordinary popular prejudice. The press and public sentiment has made the 'steel trust' an object of unlimited antagonism. This has really deprived it of public confidence, which is always a great advantage to a large industrial enterprise. For instance, its stocks were under the ban when they were paying dividends higher than other stocks that sold for twice the amount. This has made a great many business men of ability and large in-



vestors really afraid of the steel 'trust.' It has created dissension and distrust with the management, which has forced some men and frightened others out of it. This attitude, for instance, forced Schwab out of the 'trust;' and, if it did not frighten Frick, he took advantage of the unpopularity of the 'trust,' together with his hatred for Carnegie, to start an independent concern.

Considering this extraordinary opposition, the steel 'trust,' on the whole, has justified its existence. If it had been accorded the general fairness of treatment that other corporations received, it doubtless would have done much better; and, as it is, if we do not have an industrial depression, or if President Roosevelt does not use the power invested in him by the new law creating the Commerce and Labor department to wreck it, it will, in all probability, still be a business-steadying corporation, which will render a permanently beneficial service to the public.

It is doubtful if Mr Rockefeller is really putting his genius into anything now. He has reached the point in age and wealth and public abuse where he probably does not do more than lend the influence of his investment and his advice on general policies. It is evident, by Mr Rockefeller's large holdings of stock, that he has faith in the permanence and industrial success of the steel 'trust.'



## BOOK REVIEWS

THE MAN ROOSEVELT (A PORTRAIT SKETCH). By Francis E. Leupp. Cloth; 334 pages. \$1.25. D. Appleton & Company.

This portrait is manifestly painted by a friend. Yet it is not such a continuous flow of personal adoration as that which gushed from the soul of Jacob Riis. Mr Leupp writes in a seemingly frank and free-hand manner and with the air of drawing his material from personal observation. In fact, he occasionally goes out of the way to inform the reader of his personal acquaintance with the "man Roosevelt." Nevertheless, it is quite clear to any one who has a personal acquaintance with Mr Roosevelt, or who has closely watched his public career and especially in the office of president, that Mr Leupp has, either from studied purpose or from the bias of personal friendship, persistently presented the attractive sides of Mr Roosevelt's character.

It is scarcely less manifest that where a disagreeable instance can not be overlooked, it is told in the most modified form, strongly suggesting the special pleader. The discussion of Mr Gage's retirement from the Cabinet is a good illustration. To this he devotes two chapters. In one he says Mr Gage's retirement was chiefly due to Mr Roosevelt's determination to remove George R. Bidwell as Collector of the port of New York; then in the chapter 'Our Boss System and Mr Platt' he tells the story over again to show how Mr Roosevelt, besides sacrificing Gage, a valued member of the Cabinet, opposed the Platt machine in order to purify the service.

If this story were told just as it occurred it would read very differently. According to Mr Leupp, Collector Bid-



well, who was a staunch Platt machine man, and Wilbur F. Wakeman, who was a strong McKinley man, did not get along well together, and Mr Roosevelt decided to remove them both for the good of the service; and that he did this in complete defiance of the opposition of Senator Platt. With respect to Bidwell's removal there is a modicum of truth in this, but barely enough to save it. The truth is that Bidwell was a scandalous, corrupt, inefficient officer; that under his régime a ring was formed that was swindling the government in league with certain importers. In addition to the scandalously corrupt administration of the Custom House, Bidwell was corrupting the politics of New York city through the influence of his position as Collector. Mr Wakeman, as head Appraiser, exposed his dishonesty and corruption by reporting the cases to Secretary Gage, who had evidently been blinded by departmental etiquette. The charges against Bidwell were presented, conspicuous among them being his part in the famous silk cases by which the government had been swindled out of millions of dollars. The officers who were the beneficiaries of the corruption were enraged against the Appraiser; but he was the kind of man whom neither Gage, with his perfunctory departmentalism, nor the threats of politicians could intimidate; and he persisted with as much resolution as if his position was absolutely secure.

The scandalously corrupting methods inaugurated by Bidwell in politics were exposed by citizens who had experience of them. In a convention in the 14th Congress district of New York, by a manipulation of delegates, threats of removal, and promises of appointment, he changed a majority of 34 to a minority, in less than forty-eight hours after the bargain was made.

When the Bidwell-Wakeman case came up for consideration, it was particularly an instance of incompetency and corruption on the one hand and integrity and efficiency,



with a little rashness, perhaps, on the other. The facts in both of the cases mentioned were known to Mr Roosevelt personally, both when he was Vice-president in the McKinley administration, and when the matter came before him for action as President. His action was to say the least, such as he can never be proud of. It is true that Platt demanded the retention of Bidwell; but the case against Bidwell was so bald that his retention would have been a scandal, and the friends of clean government could not be silenced. He tried very hard to avoid the necessity of removing Bidwell through some sort of compromise. But this was a case where honesty and decency would not budge, and he could do nothing but remove Bidwell.

When he had decided to do this, Platt immediately demanded that Wakeman's head go also; and, although Mr Roosevelt over and over again admitted that Wakeman was the only decent man in the New York customs service, and one of the most efficient and trustworthy, he removed him in the most humiliating manner. The very man who should have commanded Mr Roosevelt's defense at all hazards was removed at the behest of Platt and the friends of Bidwell, whom for shame's sake he could not retain in office. There was not a single reason for the removal of Bidwell that did not operate as strongly for the retention of Wakeman, and not a reason for the removal of Wakeman that did not justify retaining Bidwell. There was nothing manly and courageous in Mr Roosevelt's course, nor was there in it the spirit of honest government.

The case of removing McClain of Philadelphia, after the Pennsylvania election, at the request of Quay was another instance of unmanly bowing to the 'boss,' who finally became Mr Roosevelt's chief political adviser regarding his campaign for reelection. The way this is told lacks the frankness necessary to give the story its true import. In reading Mr Leupp's account of the McClain incident the



reader will get a false impression. In the case of Miss Todd, who was removed as postmistress at Greenwood, Delaware, because she was "distasteful to Senator Allee"—in other words, at the dictation of Mr Addicks—is also told in a white-washing fashion. Mr Leupp admits that "had he [Mr Roosevelt] been consulted before the Postmaster-general acted, he would not have considered the case against Miss Todd strong enough to warrant her dismissal; as she was already out, however, and her place filled, he did not consider the evidence in her favor strong enough to demand her reinstatement."

The simple facts are that there were no complaints against Miss Todd. The testimony was overwhelming that she was a competent officer and filled the position with ability and fidelity. She was simply removed at the dictation of Addicks, because her place was wanted for an Addicks politician. Mr Roosevelt had neither the moral nor the political courage to undo the wrong, but yielded to the dictation of a man who was one of the worse products of the spoils system that he had spent much of his life denouncing.

In his discussion of Mr Roosevelt's fight for Cuban reciprocity, Mr Leupp is careful to omit such damaging facts as the permission to General Wood to use the public funds for campaign purposes in the circulation of literature to influence Congress and to subsidize the Havana press, to say nothing of the buying off of General Gómez, a performance that even Quay and Platt would shy at. To be sure, Mr Leupp does confirm Ex-secretary Long's statement that Mr Roosevelt wanted to anticipate the movement of Spain by attacking the Spanish fleet before war was declared, and before either Congress or the Cabinet had decided upon intervention in Cuba.

Mr Leupp has written a very readable story, but it is too colored to present the real "man Roosevelt." It is too



much like the preparatory literature of a national campaign. It makes the "man Roosevelt" a giant; whereas he is an ordinary man with an exceptional amount of physical energy and self-esteem. To use his own words, he thinks through his actions, instead of acting through his thinking. Mr Roosevelt has a good deal of physical courage and personal honesty, but he has little anchorage in ideas or grasp of principles of political philosophy, and he is an inordinately bad listener. In certain circumstances his very virtues, through his egotism and impulsive temperament, are vices. He is an active, energetic man, who would be much safer and more efficient as a subordinate than as the responsible head of the nation. Perhaps Mr Leupp might reply that he wrote of Roosevelt the man, and not Roosevelt the statesman; but even in this case the picture should have been a little nearer to life.

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YEARBOOK OF THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE, 1903. Washington; Government Printing Office, 1904.

The Yearbook of the Department of Agriculture has grown into one of the most attractive and useful of manuals. It has improved steadily from year to year until the volume for 1903 is a book of more than 720 pages, and each page is of value to every one engaged or interested in agriculture. Indeed, to the practical farmer with some knowledge of his work and with sufficient intellectual training to enable him to apply the information and suggestions contained in this book, it is absolutely the best work that he could have in his house. One of the most attractive features of the volume is the series of fine colored illustrations.

Among the articles that are of interest to the general reader as well as to the intelligent farmer, are those on the quail, the boll-weevil, the building of roads in the South and in the middle West, and the remarkable article on



'Some new Facts about the Migration of Birds.' It is doubtful, however, if a work of this kind, so broad in its scope, so thorough in its working out, and so well informed in all details, will be of particular utility to the average farmer. It seems to fly rather above him. But there is so much in it that every farmer will find enough in it to justify a thorough study of those things that specially interest him.

The article on the economic value of the bobwhite will be new to many who have looked upon the quail either as legitimate spoil of the gun or as a destroyer of the crops. It is clearly shown that he is a benefit to the farmer, and, most surprising of all, his protection is guaranteed by the very sportsmen who are supposed to be slaughtering him. An objection should be registered to the use of the term 'bobwhite,' when we have the beautiful and well recognized name, 'quail,' for the same bird. The name 'bobwhite' always seems like a clumsy childish attempt to name things by their sounds, like 'choo-choo' for engine and 'bow-wow' for dog. The term 'quail' is well recognized throughout the North, and even in the South, where the word 'partridge' is falsely used for *colinus virginianus*, it is recognized that 'quail' is the proper word.

The article on the migration of birds presents some remarkable as well as delightful facts about the migration of birds across the United States. While such an essay is not strictly speaking agricultural, it offers to the farmer moderately interested in his feathered neighbors an unfailing source of interest. While he is engaged in the destruction of field mice or the boll-weevil he may pause with the down on his beak and stand with his foot on the prey to watch, like the Roman augurs, the flight of birds. Whether it will interest the farmer or not, it will prove of tremendous interest to all lovers of birds.

The department is to be congratulated on the publication of such a splendid record of its manifold activities.

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ANCIENT HISTORY. By Philip Van Ness Myers. Revised Edition; Ginn & Company, Boston & London. 1904.

Every one who picks up an historical work published by a reputable firm in this day can not fail to be struck by the wonderful improvement in the use of type, maps, and general illustrations. In fact, history, and even language, is being taught through the eye by means of pictures as well as by the more laborious and tedious process of reading and study. The value of a good map or a good picture is incalculable. What we learn by it we learn much more readily and much more pleasantly, and it lasts a great deal longer than knowledge acquired in other ways.

This work is a beautiful specimen of book-making in every respect. It seems almost impossible to improve upon the mechanical structure in regard to type and illustrative material. Almost every important fact is illustrated, so as to present a clear and indelible picture upon the mind of the reader. For instance, there are 21 colored maps and 14 sketch maps. Twelve large plates show the most notable structures of antiquity, such as the towers of Babylon, the pyramids, Karnak, the Acropolis, the Roman Forum, and so forth; and in addition to these there are 184 pictures.

The general text of the volume is familiar and its value well established. Much of this has been rewritten in order to make use of recent discoveries such, for instance, as Petrie's explorations in Egypt and the various explorations in Persia and Greece. This use of new material is so complete that the famous ivory carvings discovered by Petrie at Abydos are reproduced.

It may be said that this volume by Professor Myers presents perhaps the most satisfactory history of ancient times that has yet been produced within anything like its compass.

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THE SOCIETY OF TOMORROW: A Forecast of its Political and Economic Organization. By G. De Molinari. Trans-



lated by P. H. Lee Warner, with an introduction by Hodgson Pratt and a letter to the Publishers from Frederic Passy, and an appendix containing cost of war and the preparation of war from 1898 to 1904 by Edward Atkinson. Cloth; 211 pages. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons; London, T. Fisher Unwin; 1904.

From the title of this book, one would expect to find some historic account of the present order of society and a suggestion, at least, of the form and character of society of the future. If the reader expects to find this promise fulfilled he will rise from the reading disappointed.

Mr. Molinari has not written a constructive, economic, or sociological treatise at all. On the contrary, his book makes no perceptible contribution to scientific thought on the subject. It is very much of a rehash of the theories of the early English economists. It is doubtful if it contains an idea suggested since 1850. It is an echo of Adam Smith, Malthus, Ricardo, Cobden, Gladstone, and Bright in England; and of Quesnay, Turgot, Say, Laboulaye, and Bastiat in France. It does not even voice the more advanced views of Mill. It is in reality a Frenchman's statement of the Manchester doctrine, without any important variation.

Like the early English economists and the Cobden school of statesmen, Mr. Molinari thinks the evils of society all arise from the influence and action of governments, and that the remedy for all the troubles of modern society is the restriction of government and the institution of *laissez-faire*. Free competition and the law of supply and demand, if given a free field, will solve everything. Mr. Molinari writes as if he had not read a page of economic literature written since the death of Bastiat. If all war and militarism were abolished and society were reorganized under "a state of peace and liberty," the adjustment brought about by competition and supply and demand would be perfect equity. When that time comes, there will be a "uni-



versal market for products, a universal market for capital, a universal market for labor." If these conditions are necessary to Mr. Molinari's future society, it is doomed to failure. A universal market for products and a universal market for labor are ethical impossibilities.

A universal market, for instance, is an impossibility for a large number of commodities. There are numerous products, and they are increasing as civilization advances, that are perishable and demanded only in certain localities and countries. For such products there can be no universal or general market. There are a few products, like staple food stuffs and the precious metals that may have a general market; but the large majority of products are made substantially for local markets; and the tendency of advancing society is toward the greater variety of local tastes, not a greater uniformity of consumption. Uniformity of taste and demand is the characteristic of a crude civilization.

In the case of labor, a universal market is even more impossible. The tendency is more and more to create local markets for labor. The demand for, and price of, labor in Asia has no influence upon the price and supply of labor in New York. There is no more erroneous notion than that there is a general rate of wages in such countries as the United States or England. There may be a general rate in China, India, Persia, or, perhaps, Russia; but in the more advanced countries where industry is specialized and the tastes and habits of the people and the standard of living are diversified, a general rate of wages becomes more and more impossible. Today the rate of wages in New York is not the rate anywhere else in the country. Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and San Francisco, all have different rates of wages for the same industries. No pressure of competition or even of labor organization can make wages in the same industries uniform in these places. It is contrary to the tendency of social advancement. The ob-



vious reason for this is that the growth of society comes through the economic and social group formation. Groups act upon one another just as individuals within the groups act upon and influence one another; but there is no tendency to a uniformity of wages throughout the groups. The tendency to uniformity is only within the groups. Mr. Molinari's notion about a universal market for products and a universal market for labor clearly belongs to the teachings of the first half of the nineteenth century.

Having completed his exposition of the equitable distribution of products and profits through supply and demand and free competition in regard to capital, he says: "One question still demands solution. Granting that it is possible to exactly adjust the supply of capital and production to the demand of consumption, can labor be similarly controlled?" This question restated may read, is it possible to adjust the production of laborers to the demand of the employer? He proceeds to answer this by laying down the Malthusian rule. As a remedy for low prices is little production, so the remedy for low wages is fewer births or more deaths, which will mean the same thing. According to this theory, to which he devotes a chapter, "The Problem of Population," wages are supplied from the wage fund and the only way to increase the dividend, as Perry puts it, is to diminish the divisor. If wages are low, the only remedy is to reduce the number of laborers.

Even John Stuart Mill largely recovered from this pernicious doctrine, and scientific economists, of the last quarter of the century at least, have renounced the pessimistic theory. It is quite safe to say that any economist who still relies on the Malthusian theory for adjusting wages, and on absolute free competition as the solvent of all economic problems, has nothing of scientific value to offer the world in 1904.



## PROGRESS OF THE MONTH

### **The Political Situation**

In the opinion of many shrewd observers, the political situation has changed greatly within the last month. As Mr Cleveland expresses it in an article quoted elsewhere, "the National Democracy as an organization has been freed from the financial delusions that have made it weak, and has entered upon a period of old time vigor and strength." In other words, the Democratic party seems to have been galvanized into new life by the St Louis convention, which revealed far greater harmony than was supposed to exist in the organization; by the choice of Judge Alton B. Parker, as Presidential nominee; and by Judge Parker's remarkable despatch announcing his stand on the gold question. These facts have led a great many to predict a close, hard fought campaign between the two parties.

On the the other hand the Republicans have done little to improve their chances of success; but are making extensive preparations for an aggressive campaign. Mr Cortelyou has established headquarters of the National Committee in New York, and will doubtless employ all of his youthful energy in making a vigorous fight.

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### **The Democratic Na- tional Platform**

Following is a summary of the principal points in the platform adopted by the Democratic party in its National Convention at St Louis:

Large reductions can readily be made in the annual expenditures of the Government without impairing the efficiency of any branch of the public service.

The enforcement of honesty in the public service, and to that end a thorough legislative investigation of those executive departments of the Government already known to teem with corruption.

We favor the nomination and election of a President trained in the ways of the Constitution, who shall set his face sternly against executive usurpation of legislative and judicial functions, whether that usurpation be veiled under the guise of executive construction of existing laws or whether it take refuge in the tyrant's pleas of necessity or superior wisdom.



We favor a revision and a gradual reduction of the tariff by the friends of the masses, and for the commonweal, and not by the friends of its abuses, its extortions and its discriminations, keeping in view the ultimate end of "equality of burdens and equality of opportunities."

We recognize that the gigantic trusts and combinations designed to enable capital to secure more than its just share of the joint products of capital and labor, and which have been fostered and promoted under Republican rule, are a menace to beneficial competition and an obstacle to permanent business prosperity. . . . We demand a strict enforcement of existing civil and criminal statutes against all such trusts, combinations, and monopolies; and we demand the enactment of such further legislation as may be necessary to effectually suppress them.

We favor the reduction of the army and of army expenditure to the point historically demonstrated to be safe and sufficient.

We oppose an indefinite, irresponsible, discretionary, and vague absolutism and a policy of colonial exploitation, no matter where or by whom invoked or exercised; we believe that no Government has a right to make one set of laws for those "at home" and another and a different set of laws, absolute in their character, for those "in the colonies."

We insist that we ought to do for the Filipinos what we have already done for the Cubans. And it is our intent, as soon as it can be done wisely and safely for the Filipinos themselves, and after amicable arrangements with them concerning naval stations, coaling stations, and trade relations, and upon suitable guarantees of protection to all national and international interests, to set the Filipino people upon their feet, free and independent, to work out their own destiny.

We favor the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people.

To this should be added the already famous telegram sent by Judge Alton B. Parker to the New York delegation, which is practically the money plank of the Democratic platform, and which will be regarded for all time as one of the most remarkable and courageous utterances in the history of politics.

I regard the gold standard as firmly and irrevocably established, and shall act accordingly, if the action of convention today shall be ratified by the people. As the platform is silent on the subject, my view should be made known to the convention, and, if it is proved to be unsatisfactory to the majority, I request you to decline the nomination for me at once, so that another may be nominated before adjournment.

**Grover Cleveland on Democratic Prospects** Grover Cleveland has written an appeal to Democrats, which appears in 'Collier's Weekly' of July 23. Mr Cleveland is very optimistic, and thinks that the situation has been so completely changed by the nomination of Judge Parker and by his famous despatch as to make Democratic success possible, and perhaps probable. Judge Parker's silence was broken, according to Mr Cleveland to good purpose, he says:



"Those Democrats who have been impatient of the silence of their party's candidate ought to be satisfied with the effectiveness of his first utterance. It filled the blank in a disabled platform, it gave leadership to the Democratic cause, and rallied supporters by thousands and tens of thousands to the Democratic standard. To these must be added another wonderful accomplishment to which this utterance gave opportunity."

As to the effect of this message on the Democratic party and on the country at large, Mr Cleveland thinks that it will be tremendous. He says:

"I believe that no man ever did so much for the cause and in so many directions in so short a time and in so compact a form, as was done by our candidate when he sent his message to the St Louis Convention. He has reminded all who profess Democratic principles that they also have work to do if they, like him, would do the patriotic political duty the time demands."

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**Two American Views on American Ideals** Two remarkable speeches were recently delivered at Harvard University within the same week, representing absolutely conflicting views on American ideals. One of these speeches was by Judge Taft, Secretary of War, and the other by Richard Olney, Secretary of State in Mr Cleveland's administration. In point of view, the two orators were as far removed from each other as if one were speaking in ancient Rome and the other at some ideal parliament of man.

Both speakers had in view the American conquest of the Philippines, the one conceiving it as the inevitable outcropping of our expansion spirit, and the other as representing an absolute and irreconcilable departure from American principles. Judge Taft claimed that it was to our credit that we had liberated the Filipinos from Spain and established our own sovereignty over them, and said that the Filipinos now have all the rights mentioned in the bill of rights, except that of trial by jury and the right to bear arms; and that it is the purpose of the administration to teach the people how to govern themselves, so that they may be brought "into touch with the Anglo-Saxon world, where they shall drink in the principles of civil liberty."



Mr Olney, in his speech before the Law School alumni, said that statesmen and lawyers of seventy-five years ago would be startled by current American theories. After praising Judge Taft for his patience and humanity in dealing with the Filipinos, he inquired:

"What place has despotism—even the most benevolent and most intelligent—in our American political system, and where, by searching, shall we find it out?"

He could not find the principle of altruism in the American Constitution, and said it would be a puzzle

"To find in a frame of government declared on its face by the people adopting it to be designed to 'secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity' any authority for purely philanthropic enterprises—any right in that government to turn itself into a missionary to the benighted tribes of islands in the South Seas, seven thousand miles from our shores; or any power to tax the toiling masses of this country for the benefit of motley groups of the brown people of the tropics, between whom and the taxpayers there is absolutely no community either of interest or of sympathy."

It is remarkable that such a speech as that by Secretary Taft could have been made by a prominent American in Massachusetts, the home of liberty, and in the presence of a great university training young men in lofty ideals, and in the beginning of the 20th century. It is quite probable that Secretary Taft has converted himself in his long effort as a special pleader to convert others to a policy with regard to the Philippines that is utterly revolting to common sense and to American ideals of justice.

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**Our Negro Population** The recent Bulletin of the Bureau of the Census devoted to statistics of 'Negroes in the United States' is one of the most interesting and to many, one of the most novel of recent publications of the Government. Both as regards their number and their influence in the industrial life of the nation the negroes are a substantial element in the population. In numbers they now amount to 9,200,000, giving to the United States a larger negro population than any other country outside of the dark continent. The following interesting facts are taken from this Bulletin:



Between 11 and 16 per cent. of the negro population has or is believed by the enumerators to have, some degree of white blood.

The number of negroes in the United States (continental United States, Alaska, and Hawaii), and Puerto Rico, is nine and one-fifth million (9,204,531), perhaps a larger number than is found in any other country outside of Africa. Nearly nine-tenths (89.7 per cent.) of the negroes living in continental United States are found in the Southern (South Atlantic and South Central) states, and three-tenths (31.4 per cent.) in Georgia, Mississippi, and Alabama.

The district in which the proportion of negroes is greatest lies in the Mississippi alluvial region along both banks of the lower Mississippi, where five-eighths of the population is negro, the maximum being in Issaquena county, Miss., with more than 15 negroes to each white person.

There are 55 counties and only one city in continental United States in which at least 75 per cent. of the population is negro.

The center of the negro population is in Dekalb county, northeastern Alabama, about four miles from the western boundary of Georgia, and 33 miles south of the southern boundary of Tennessee.

The center of the negro population has moved since 1790 from a point in Dinwiddie county, Va. (27 miles southwest of Petersburg), 476 miles southwest.

The median age of negroes is 19.4 years, that is, half the negroes in the United States are below that age. The median age is 4 years below that of the whites (23.4 years), a difference closely connected with the high birth rate and high death rate of the negroes.

Among negroes at least ten years of age 44.5 per cent. are illiterate, that is, unable to write, the great majority of them being also unable to read. The per cent. illiterate has decreased rapidly since 1890 when it was 57.1 per cent.

There are nearly four millions (3,992,337) negroes in continental United States engaged in gainful occupations.

**Rates of Increase of  
Whites and Negroes**

Although the negro population of this country is rapidly approaching 10,000,000, the Bulletin of the Bureau of the Census quoted above shows that even in the South the negroes will form



soon but a small portion of the population, with a tendency to practical submergence. The rate of increase of the negro declined steadily through the 19th century. Up to 1840, the rate of increase of the negroes in the Southern states was greater than that of the whites; but this was due to the fact that the South had no white immigration and negroes were steadily being brought into that section. Since 1840, the negro increase has been less rapid than that of the whites. From 1860 to 1900, the negro increased 93 per cent., while the whites increased 135 per cent. This is quite remarkable in view of the fact that the white population of the South increases merely through natural causes, receiving very little accretion from immigration.

From this time on, the white population of the South is bound to increase with great rapidity, due to the more rapid development of industrial resources, while it is probable that the increase of the negro population will be very slow. In other words it seems probable that within a few generations the negro population of the United States, which is even now showing a tendency to spread over the whole country instead of confining itself to the Southern states, will be lost amid the millions of whites, and form an inappreciable element of the population.

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**'Race Suicide'** It is probable that Mr Roosevelt's attention  
**Among the Negroes** has not been called to the alarming development of 'race suicide' among the negroes.

If he had read with care the article on 'negro population' which prefaces the Bulletin of the Bureau of the Census of 'Negroes in the United States' he would have seen that there is an alarming tendency on the part of negro families to decrease. The following is taken from the Bulletin.

"The number of negro, Indian, and Mongolian children under 5 years of age to each 1,000 women 15 to 44 years of age was 759 in 1880 and 585 in 1900, showing a decrease of 174 in twenty years."

Such a peril to the United States should not be passed without rebuke and an appeal on the part of Mr Roosevelt to put an end to the threatened race suicide of the negroes, Indians, and Chinese. In 1880 to every 1,000 negro women there were 759 children. In 1900 there were only 585 chil-



dren to the 1,000. It is a significant falling off, and would seem to point to the rapid extermination of the race.

It may be, however, that this decrease in the birth rate among the negroes is due to their higher civilization—a point to which Darwin, several thousand other scientists, and nature herself, have called attention, but to which Mr Roosevelt would not agree. It is unquestionable, however, that the higher races have fewer children. It is the rabbit and the savage that most rapidly reproduce their species, while the higher organisms show a tendency merely to maintain themselves. It may be that in our efforts to civilize the negroes we have brought them under the operation of this law of nature. If, however, it is merely the 'race suicidal' mania of the age, it is a matter that should be looked into by Mr Roosevelt, and, perhaps, by Emperor William.

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**Insulting other  
Religionists**

Few things are more shocking than a slashing denunciation of alien religions by a speaker or writer who knows very little about them. It is to be regretted that Secretary Taft, while he was still Governor of the Philippines, in a speech in Manila took occasion to insult—unintentionally, of course,—the professors of three great religions,—Buddhism, Muhammadanism, and Confucianism, the three numbering some half billion more devotees than Christianity. The occasion was apparently an innocuous one, an address delivered to the Union Reading College, Manila. Portions of the speech are published in a Bulletin of the Bureau of the Census, "Population of the Philippines." Mr Taft said:

"In forming a subject for the operation of elevating influence, of education, and the environment of civilization, this people is centuries in advance of the Mohammedan or Buddhist. The Mohammedan, the Buddhist, the Chinaman, looks with a sense of superiority on the efforts of the Christian European nation to better his condition. He has no desire for popular government, no longing for individual liberty. He opposes to development of this kind the impenetrable wall of disdain and contempt. The Filipino people as a people have breathed in through their educated leaders the inspirations of liberty and free government."



Mr Taft may have forgotten for the moment, for he surely must know, that Confucianism and Buddhism comprise among their adherents some of the most advanced and capable men in the world, and that the Japanese people, one of the most liberal and promising nations on the globe, is largely Buddhist and Confucianist. He also must know that among the Buddhists of India have been, and still are, some of the best thinkers of the human race. He also ought to remember that the Muhammadans, and not so very long ago, were able to export civilization, science, culture, and good breeding into Europe.

Nothing is sillier, in fact, than the constant plea that a religion in itself makes men capable of a higher degree of civilization. Civilization changes religions, but religions have not a corresponding effect on civilization. The most civilized people of the history—the Greeks—were pagan, and the pagan Japanese manage to be as civilized as Christian Europe.

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**Our Government  
Aids Russia**

There is some danger that the President and his Secretary of State, in their eagerness to appear entirely neutral, as between Russia and Japan, may really give too much assistance and encouragement to Russia. This danger is to be found in the fact that the American people sympathize deeply with Japan and in order to guard against anything that may seem to express official sympathy in the same direction, the Administration is taking a little too much pains to avoid hurting Russian sensibilities. Sometime ago, it will be remembered, Mr Roosevelt issued an unusual order forbidding officers of the government to express their sentiments on either side, instead of trusting to the American sense of honor and fairness, which he is so fond of praising.

The most recent exhibition of American solicitude for Russia is Mr Hay's action in forcing China to take stronger measures with regard to neutrality in the war. This was at the request of the Russian government, and seems an act of unnecessary friendship on the part of this country. Japan is in no danger from China, and Russia is. If General Ma should undertake to turn his army against the Russian right flank, there is no doubt that



he could create such a diversion as would result in the destruction of Kuropatkin's forces, as they would be caught between converging hostile lines. That Russia should be desirous of holding China in check is very natural, but it is overdoing matters a little for the United States to act as the practical ally of Russia in forcing from China a declaration of stricter neutrality in a case that concerns Russia only. It may well happen that Japan and China will construe these acts as distinctly biased and unfriendly.

**Are the Russian Ships  
Pirates?**

Russia has sharply diverted attention from the Far East to the Red Sea and the Dardanelles. Early in July several of her volunteer Black Sea merchant fleet, notably the Smolensk and the Petersburg, passed through the Dardanelles. As soon as they reached the Red Sea they received commissions as warships from the Russian Admiralty and began at once to interfere with English commerce. It is probable that the cruise of these converted merchantmen will open two very serious questions. The first of these is whether a merchant ship has the right to pass through the Dardanelles with the distinct purpose of being converted into a warship on the high seas. The other question is whether such a ship is really a warship or a pirate.

One of the first exploits of these converted merchantmen was to seize as a prize the British ship Malacca, upon the ground that she was carrying contraband of war. Another exploit was the stopping of the Prinz Heinrich, a German ship, and taking off all the mail sacks addressed to Japan. The German government has protested sharply at Petersburg and will insist upon the disavowal of the act. England is already protesting against the seizure of the Malacca and has even despatched a fleet to Alexandria and swift cruisers to the Red Sea and the Dardanelles to watch, if not put a stop to, any future interference on the part of the Russian ships.

Russia has already, as was to be expected, showed a spirit too cowardly to carry out the bold policy initiated by her cruisers. She has given up the Malacca and assured England that no similar interference with her ships shall occur. It is, indeed, a question whether the whole matter



was not planned for the purpose of forcing England and Germany to exert upon Russia such pressure as would give her a good excuse for abandoning the war against Japan. She could by this 'save her face,' and avoid the humiliation of inevitable defeat at the hands of Japan. Public resentment has been so deeply stirred in England that Russia will have to make unequivocal apologies and perhaps withdraw her converted merchantment from the sea. The passage of the Dardanelles can not be lawful, according to the English view, as the ships must have been either merchantmen or warships. If warships, then the treaty was violated; if merchantmen, then they must remain merchantmen. If the latter contention holds good, then the converted Smolensk and the Petersburg are pirates. In any event, the English people are in no temper to have their commerce interfered with by Russia, and Russia will have to put an end to it or fight. Great Britain has always construed international law in such way as to protect her own interest at sea—and she may be counted upon to do so again.

**Japan's Object in  
Fighting**

If there were any longer any doubt as to the uprightness of Japan's purpose in the war with Russia that would be laid by the frank and fine spirited statement made by Count Katsura the Japanese Prime Minister to Dr William Imbrie. Count Katsura declared that the principal object of Japan was "the security of the Empire and the permanent peace of the East." He compared the position of Japan in the present war to that of Greece in the war against Persia, and evidently expects another Marathon, where the tide of Russian barbarism will be rolled back into Central Asia. The following views are interesting and significant:

"With differences of race or religion it has nothing to do; and it is carried on in the interests of justice, humanity, and the commerce and civilization of the world. In saying this, I am not speaking as an individual only; I am speaking as Prime Minister also, and, more than that, I am expressing the mind of his Majesty the Emperor."

When war was declared, communications were sent to the governors of prefectures and all educational institutions giving instructions as to the conduct of individuals



during the war. In addition to this, Count Katsura said, "Communications were sent to the recognized representatives of all the religious bodies in the country, Buddhists, Shintoists, and Christians alike, asking them to take pains to discountenance any wrong tendencies among the more ignorant of the people. Among the points emphasized by the Government are these: That the war is one between the State of Japan and the State of Russia; that it is not waged against individuals; that individuals of all nationalities, peacefully attending to their business, are to suffer no molestation or annoyance whatever, and that questions of religion do not enter into the war at all."

These calm and statesmanlike views are in striking contrast to those that emanate daily from the headquarters of General Kuropotkin, Viceroy Alexiev, and from official sources in Petersburg.

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**The Japanese  
"First in War"**

It is astonishing that the people Russia denounces as semi-barbarians have already shown themselves to be the most humane as well as the most courageous people in war in the world to-day. The Japanese are the first to adopt the rules of war proposed by The Hague Peace Conference and are, of course, the first to put them into actual practise. In addition to this, they have shown the utmost kindness to the Russian wounded, both in the hospitals after the fight and in the very heat of conflict. Their forces in the field are accompanied by a fine and numerous corps of physicians, nurses, and hospital assistants, and it is believed that in this respect the armies that are now driving Russia out of Manchuria are better equipped than any that have ever yet taken the field. In order that all the rules of war may be complied with, and that commanders should have the best advice as to how to act in all complications, experts on international law accompany all the armies.

Upon the death of Admiral Makarov, the Japanese showed not only an irreproachable spirit of courtesy—which was to be expected of the most polite people on the globe—but they did a great deal more than even the gentlest humanitarians could have imagined as decorous. For one whole day the men in the Japanese navy abstained from the



use of tobacco and drink as a token of respect for the dead admiral; the Japanese government issued an order eulogizing the bravery and skill of their dead foe; and all through Japan there was shown a sincere grief for the loss of this brilliant sea-fighter.

In passing through Korea where they are treated with only half friendship, and through Manchuria where they are met with some duplicity and irritation due to the repetition of the invasion of the country, the treatment by the Japanese of the people of the country has been exemplary in every respect. They are making friends everywhere by their generous and liberal treatment of the Chinese, Koreans, and Russians. These are not the acts of "semi-barbarians." They are the acts of a highly civilized and humane people, who know not only how to fight, but how to act like men. It is gratifying to know that their humane conduct is appreciated by the Russians themselves, who are giving voluntary and abundant expression of their surprise and gratitude.

Up to the present time, Japan's conduct on the battle-field, whether on land or water, and in the treatment of the wounded and the prisoners of her enemy, fully entitles her to the rank of "first in war."

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**Russo-Japanese War** During the past month no great battles have been fought and nothing of great consequence done at sea in the Far East. The Japanese have continued to follow up their plan of campaign in the war against China ten years ago and are meeting with as signal success against the Russians as they did against the poorly equipped and undisciplined troops of China. They now have four armies in the field which are disposed, generally, as follows: General Kuroki is marching along the Peking road from Feng-wang-cheng, toward Hai-cheng, but with part of his force on the road to Liao-yang where it has recently twice defeated General Keller in decisive engagements. The northern part of General Kuroki's force is almost within sight of Liao-yang. General Oku, who landed to the north of Port Arthur and cut across the peninsula winning the battles of Nan-shan and Kin-chau, is advancing north and is probably between Ying-



kow and Niu-chwang. General Nodzu, who landed at Taku-shan, has advanced to the northwest, after defeating the Russians at Siu-yen, and is now approaching Hai-cheng and is in touch with Kuroki on the right and Oku on the left. The fourth army under General Nogi is devoting itself to the capture of Port Arthur. Newspaper accounts frequently confuse Nogi and Nodzu. Field-marshal Oyama has now landed at Dalny.

### Principal Events in the War from June 18-July 20

June 20.—General Kuroki and Oku begin a joint movement against Hai-cheng resulting in sharp skirmishing.

June 23.—Field Marshal Count Oyama is appointed to command all the Japanese armies in Manchuria.

June 24.—A Russian attack at Ai-yang is repulsed.

June 25.—The Russian Port Arthur fleet moves out of the harbor and is attacked by Admiral Togo's fleet. The Russians lose one battleship and have another battleship, a cruiser, and a destroyer damaged. The Japanese suffer no loss.

June 28.—General Kuroki captures the passes of Fen-shui, Mao-tien, after six hours' fighting, driving back a strong Russian force. The Vladivostok squadron makes another sortie.

June 29.—The Russian submarine boat Delfin sinks in the Neva, drowning 1 officer and 20 men.

June 30.—The Vladivostok squadron shells Gensan, Korea, and sinks two small vessels.

July 1.—The Japanese capture three fortified heights at Port Arthur—the Vladivostok squadron returns safely to port.

July 3.—Admiral Togo reports the sinking of a Russian battleship or cruiser and a destroyer at Port Arthur on June 27.

July 5.—Heavy fighting in the vicinity of Mao-tien passes ending in the defeat and retirement of the Russians under General Keller.

July 6.—Field-marshal Oyama leaves Tōkyō for the front. He is accompanied by General Kodama the 'brains of the Japanese army' and General Fukushima who commanded the Japanese in the Boxer insurrection.

July 7.—The Japanese under General Nogi complete the investment of Port Arthur.

July 9.—General Oku captures Kai-chau defeating the Russians with loss.

July 11.—As one good effect of the war, the system of condemning political prisoners in Russia is abolished.

July 19.—General Kuroki attacks the position of General Keller at Shao-tien-tse, about 25 miles east of Liao-yang. The Russians are driven back in disorder with loss of probably 1500 men.

July 22.—The British steamer Malacca, which was seized in the Red Sea a few days before by the Russian volunteer fleet steamer Petersburg converted into a war ship, is released upon the indignant protest of Great Britain. Russia disavows the action of the captain of the Petersburg and guarantees that no similar occurrence will take place.



# GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

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## ROOSEVELT 'SANE'

THE ONLY DOUBT as to the wisdom of giving Mr Roosevelt another term as President is regarding his political sanity. He has given evidence in so many directions of an erratic, headstrong, and often over-bearing disposition as to arouse grave doubts among his friends of the advisability of entrusting the interests of the nation and the fortunes of the Republican party to his leadership. This has caused the fear that, with a full term before him and no hope of future political preferment, he might prove a menace to the public welfare. This foreboding has seemed well grounded because of the precipitancy of Mr Roosevelt's character, which has sometimes assumed the form of coercion or dictation to Congress that has been tantamount to an encroachment upon, or the usurpation of, the rights and functions of other departments of the government. This trait of Mr Roosevelt's character has been, in fact, so often made manifest that it fully warrants the warning made by Ex-secretary Root in his address to the Yale students. Mr Roosevelt has shown little disposition to accept the advice of experienced statesmen on questions of great national import. His attitude toward corporations has been almost that of a persecutor. On the tariff, for a long time at least, his attitude was that of a disturber, his coquetting with the 'Iowa Idea' almost reaching the point of championing immediate tariff revision. He gave encouragement to that foolish notion of putting all trust-made products on the free list, an idea that sent delight to the soul of every enemy of protection. This, together with his seizure of the boss-ship of his party, against the protests of the oldest and most experienced



leaders, very naturally created a general feeling of distrust of his judgment, of his stability, and of his political wisdom.

As pointed out in the last issue, many of these fears are aroused by the platform of the other party. That platform is weighted down with dangers, and is a national menace. The hope of stability and political sanity in that party all rests in the candidate, and the financial and business interests of the country all turn to Judge Parker as the sane and saving force in the Democracy.

In the Republican party the case is reversed. There the platform expresses the same, safe, wholesome, and progressive attitude of the party. On all questions of national importance the Chicago platform is sound and safe. Nor is it the safety that comes of sterility and negative resistance, but the safety vouchsafed by a rational and natural attitude toward the dynamic forces of the nation, based upon more than one generation of experience. The only unsafe or unstable element in the Republican party, the element that has caused apprehension and uncertainty, is the candidate.

In comparing the two platforms, the American people naturally must place the greatest confidence in, and receive most hope from, the Republican platform, because that platform is the intelligent, straightforward reaffirmation of the policy that the people have adopted over and over again. Sound money and the protection of domestic industry are the most vital of all questions upon which the people have definitely expressed themselves and from which the nation has received the most undisputable and ineffaceable benefits. It is because the Democratic platform is so utterly unsatisfactory on these questions that even the Democrats themselves point to their candidate as the Gibraltar of security in the event of Democratic success. The reason Judge Parker's telegram gave hope and enthusiasm to the Democrats was that it furnished the only element of safety to be found in the Democratic policy and program.



The question everywhere is, Will Mr Roosevelt be as sane as his party? Will his attitude be as rational as the platform? Or will he, if elected, be a platform unto himself? His address at Oyster Bay, in response to the address of notification, is largely in the nature of a hopeful surprise. It is really the voice of a new Roosevelt. It is entirely free from the spirit of the strenuous, belligerent, cyclonic Roosevelt of the last three years. Indeed, it reads like the utterances of a sane, steady, conservative man, wholly free from revolutionary tendencies. One would never suspect that this Oyster Bay address was delivered by the man of San Juan Hill, or by the ardent friend of Panamá revolutionists, or the coercer of Congress, or the boss of a national convention. The speech was a moderate and dignified appeal to the nation to judge the Republican party not by its present promises but by its past acts, by its steady success, and by its promotion of the nation's welfare. After referring to the substantial harmony and practical unanimity that prevailed at the Chicago Convention and that has characterized the action of the party throughout the country on the great question of industrial and financial policy, and reminding the public that "in the years that have gone by we [the Republican party] have made the deed square with the word," he pertinently remarked:

In all of this we are more fortunate than our opponents who now appeal for confidence on the ground, which some express and some seek to have confidentially understood, that if triumphant they may be trusted to prove false to every principle which in the last eight years they have laid down as vital, and to leave undisturbed those very acts of the Administration because of which they ask that the Administration itself be driven from power. Seemingly their present attitude as to their past record is that some of them were mistaken and others insincere. We make our appeal in a wholly different spirit. We are not constrained to keep silent on any vital question; we are divided on no vital ques-



tion; our policy is continuous, and is the same for all sections and localities. There is nothing experimental about the government we ask the people to continue in power, for our performances in the past, our proved governmental efficiency, is a guarantee as to our promises for the future. Our opponents, either openly or secretly, according to their several temperaments, now ask the people to trust their present promise in consideration of the fact that they intend to treat their past promises as null and void. We know our own minds, and we have kept of the same mind for a sufficient length of time to give to our policy coherence and sanity.

This is a neat, concise and altogether effective statement of the case. It states the merits of the Republican party and, by contrast, the defects of the Democratic party. If this characterization of his party could with the same truth be applied to himself, it would leave little to be desired. On the money question it is quite easy for Mr Roosevelt to be safe. There has been no opportunity for him to be unsafe. The gold standard was established before he became President, and all the influences of business prosperity and economic tendency have strengthened it and made any serious effort to disturb it practically impossible. Even Bryan admits that at present it is not an issue.

On the tariff question, the President's remarks were entirely satisfactory. They were not satisfactory, forsooth, to the New York 'Times' and to the 'Evening Post,' or to the Democrats. It was not expected that his views would be satisfactory to them. It is the highest endorsement of this part of his speech that the New York 'Times' rails at him in an editorial nearly two columns long as a hopeless 'stand-patter.' It may, however, be properly said that on this subject the 'Times' is literally insane. It could not be rational on the tariff if it would, and, from all appearances, it would not if it could. But Mr Roosevelt does not represent the Democrats, and the Democrats on this subject do not represent the country. If the American people are committed to



any one line of policy, it is protection. On that subject they have been tried by all the devices that politicians could invent. Under a plea for a change, they have once or twice been lured into an experiment with the non-protective policy, and each time have sorely regretted it. Of course, if the nation wants another experiment in tariff reform of the Democratic kind, and in this case it matters not whether it be the Bryan or Cleveland wing that takes the job, then Mr Roosevelt's remarks may be regarded as absurd. They can really have no use for the Republican platform and the Republican party, and Mr Roosevelt's position, as expressed in the following remarks, may be considered unsound.

We have enacted a tariff law under which, during the past few years, the country has attained a height of material wellbeing never before reached. Wages are higher than ever before. That whenever the need arises there should be a readjustment of the tariff schedules is undoubted; but such changes can with safety be made only by those whose devotion to the principle of a protective tariff is beyond question; for otherwise the changes would amount not to readjustment, but to repeal. The readjustment when made must maintain and not destroy the protective principle. To the farmer, the merchant, the manufacturer, this is vital; but perhaps no other man is so much interested as the wage-worker in the maintenance of our present economic system both as regards the finances and the tariff. The standard of living of our wageworker is higher than that of any other country, and it can not so remain unless we have a protective tariff which shall always keep as a minimum a rate of duty sufficient to cover the difference between the labor cost here and abroad.

If, however, the American people want to continue the policy of protection, and believe in its straightforward application upon sound principle, the policy thus briefly set forth must be regarded as having the true ring. It expresses the doctrine as completely as could be done by so brief a statement. Of course all the free-trade journals will sneer at it.



Perhaps some of them will rage as the New York 'Times' does. But, as a matter of economic doctrine, it is a sound statement buttressed alike by extensive experience and economic principle. The surprising thing is that Mr Roosevelt should have said it. It reads so much as if it were said by somebody else. To be sure, it is entirely consistent with his first message. In that paper, he took an eminently sound position on both the tariff and reciprocity; but later he coquetted with the 'Iowa Idea' and became quite a pronounced tariff reformer of the Babcock, almost of the 'Evening Post,' variety.

The question that naturally arises is, What has happened? Mr Roosevelt's first message showed him to be thoroughly sane and consistent on this great question of our national economic policy. Afterward he floundered around and almost reached the chronic Mugwump condition on the tariff, until he thoroughly frightened his tariff friends throughout the country. It was only by the most strenuous efforts, which threatened a party breach, that he was prevented from fathering the Cummins movement and becoming the leader of a tariff-revision crusade. His utterances at Oyster Bay show that Mr Roosevelt is again sane on the tariff question. He has returned to the position taken in his first message, a position entirely consistent with the traditional policy of his party and of the nation, entirely consistent with the Chicago platform, and, what is more, entirely consistent with the principles of political science. But the question will come up, Why all this? Assuming that Mr Roosevelt was honest in these various attitudes, which attitude can he be relied upon to assume if elected? Can he be depended upon to be the Roosevelt of his first message, and of his speech of acceptance; or the Roosevelt of stampepe and tariff revision?

On reciprocity, the President's Oyster Bay utterances are sane and satisfactory to the friends of domestic industry



and national prosperity and, conversely, very unsatisfactory to those who believe in sacrificing domestic industry for foreign trade. He says:

We believe in reciprocity with foreign nations on the terms outlined in President McKinley's last speech, which urged the extension of our foreign markets by reciprocal agreements whenever they could be made without injury to American industry and labor.

This is entirely consistent with the Republican platform and with Republican policy and with the principle of protection to domestic industries. It is also consistent with the position taken by the President in his first message, but, curiously enough, like his utterances on the tariff, it is strangely inconsistent with his practical policy on the subject. He had hardly become settled in the Presidential chair when the spirit of Mugwumpery and so-called 'independence' began to assert itself, and he showed signs of breaking away from the position he had taken. This found expression in his second annual message, December 2, 1902:

One way in which the readjustment sought [readjustment of the tariff to new conditions and national needs] can be reached is by reciprocity treaties. It is greatly to be desired that such treaties may be adopted. They can be used to widen our markets and to give greater field for the activities of our producers on the one hand, and on the other hand to secure in practical shape the lowering of duties when they are no longer needed for protection among our own people, or when the minimum of damage done may be disregarded for the sake of the maximum of good accomplished.

This reads like a plank of the St. Louis platform. It called forth extravagant praise from the free-trade papers throughout the country. Like certain sentences in McKinley's Buffalo speech, this was called evidence of "enlightened disgust with protection."

In the same line was the President's attitude on the



Kasson treaties, which proposed to sacrifice American industries in order to facilitate the importation of foreign products. Nor was Mr Roosevelt's attitude on these treaties merely negative; it was radical and almost coercive. Because the Senate ignored his threats and refused to confirm these treaties, it was the subject of violent abuse by the Mugwump and free-trade press throughout the country. The President was even more pronounced in favor of a reciprocity treaty with Cuba, in direct conflict with the policy of protection. He was ready to sacrifice the entire domestic sugar industry, and remove practically all the protection from many other industries. He even permitted the use of money from the public treasury to circulate campaign literature, subsidize Cuban newspapers, and support a lobby in Congress to force through an objectionable reciprocity treaty. It was only by the tenacious resistance of the Senate, which incurred his wrath and the abuse of the Democratic and Roosevelt press throughout the country, that the treaty was prevented from being passed in a shape that would have worked the practical ruin of the sugar industry in this country. As a part of his aggressive attitude on this subject, he called a special session to force the treaty through, and, as a mark of disapproval of his conduct, the Senate refused to adopt the treaty during the special session. The Roosevelt of Oyster Bay seems an entirely different man from the Roosevelt of Washington eighteen months ago. From the point of view of the traditional policy of the republic and from the point of view of the theory of protection and the historic position of the Republican party, Mr Roosevelt was violently wrong in his practical attitude on reciprocity and in his demeanor toward the party leaders and the Senate, but in his Oyster Bay speech he has returned to the position of his first message, to the true doctrine of the party, to the policy of the nation, and, apparently, to perfect sanity on the subject.



If we are to judge President Roosevelt by his position on protection and reciprocity, as expressed in his first message and in his latest Oyster Bay utterances, he is an ideal candidate of the Republican party. His views on both these occasions were simple, straightforward, and statesmanlike. If we are to judge him by his actions as President, the verdict will be quite different. As President, he has aided and abetted the enemies of the policy for which the party stands, and which the country has endorsed. His speeches on tariff revision and his official policy on reciprocity have been essentially of a business-disturbing nature and warrant the fear of all who believe in the protective doctrine.

How, then, shall he be judged—by the acts of Roosevelt, the President; or by the utterances of Roosevelt, the candidate? His Oyster bay utterances show one of two things: either that experience has taught him something and that he has really undergone a change of view on the question of protection and reciprocity since he coquetted with the 'Iowa Idea' and tried to force through the Kasson treaties; or that his latest speech shows an adjustment of his views to party practise for campaign purposes.

On the other hand, if Mr Roosevelt has seen the mistake of his attitude on these questions, and the un wisdom of taking the whole power of government into his own hands and ignoring the influence of the party and the Senate on questions of undoubted traditional policy, and if he can be relied upon to live up to the doctrine he so clearly expressed in his first message and in his latest speech, and to stand squarely by the platform upon which he was nominated, then every friend of sound money, of domestic industry, and of national prosperity may cordially desire his election.



## THE LABOR VOTE

IN EVERY Presidential campaign a great deal of attention is devoted to schemes for capturing the labor vote. Astute politicians and political managers will do very absurd things, things in which they do not believe, on the theory that it will influence the labor vote. For example, David B. Hill, Judge Parker's real manager, inserted a plank in the New York Democratic platform in 1902 in favor of the government ownership of coal mines. Mr Hill does not believe in this sort of thing. He has always been strenuously opposed to anything looking in that direction; but the coal strike was on, and, in pure demagogue fashion, he made the Democratic party declare in favor of the government ownership of mines, in the evident hope and belief that such demagogism would gain the labor vote of New York for the Democratic ticket. The result showed that his judgment was as bad as his motive. It is doubtful if this socialism added fifty votes to the Democratic candidate, and it is quite certain that it cost many times that number. When Mr Roosevelt was candidate for governor of New York he sent for a certain person who had been prominently identified with the interests of labor, and the first question he asked was, "What influence have you with the working men? What do you think of the labor vote?"

This notion that the labor vote can be transferred, like an old hat, from candidate to candidate or from party to party by dickering with leaders is as false as it is dishonorable. It is as reliable and stable as is the vote of any class in the country. It is customary, just before elections, for labor leaders to put themselves forward as controlling the labor vote, and to be ready to bargain for its delivery; but they



are never able to 'deliver the goods.' There is no vote in the country that is less deliverable and whoever tries to bargain for or to deliver it is either a fool or a rogue.

It is not because workingmen are wiser, or more far-sighted or more honorable than others. They are, on the contrary, often subject to suspicions. On most economic and political questions they suspect everybody, and most of all their own leaders, of acting from selfish motives, and the very first evidence of a labor-leader's favoring a political party or a special candidate creates the suspicion that he has 'sold out.' This suspicious feeling is the most disrupting element in the ranks of organized labor. Nothing will bring disorder to a labor meeting so quickly as the introduction of politics; so that it has become essential to labor organizations that political discussion be excluded. The walking-delegate may swindle the laborers, he may get them into all sorts of trouble through blackmail and dishonesty, he may easily array them against their employer on a whim; but if he should attempt to control their politics it would immediately be his undoing. The same is true as to religion. Politics and religion are both tabooed. Laborers are Republicans or Democrats, Socialists or Populists, by reason of personal or class prejudice or preference, but seldom by reason of labor-union influence. This is fully illustrated whenever a labor man is nominated on an independent ticket. If the labor vote could be easily corralled by labor-leaders, the labor candidate could, in any manufacturing or industrial center best a candidate of either of the other parties, and could often best a candidate that had the endorsement of all the other parties. Yet the candidate of a labor party seldom commands more than a handful of votes. The reason of this is, partly, that workingmen have little faith in labor-politicians; and, partly again, that, like all other citizens, they have their party preferences and prejudices. It would be as difficult to transfer the vote of an Irish laborer from



the Democratic party to the Republican party as it would be to shift the vote of a Vermont abolitionist to the Democratic party. Irish laborers are Democrats and like a great majority of the citizens of the South, will vote blindly with the Democratic party. The same is true of habitual Republicans. Workingmen, like other citizens, will change their party preferences only in extraordinary circumstances, and they can never be transferred from one party at the will of labor-leaders. The labor vote, as a transferable quantity in a national election, is a myth. It is governed by general party sentiment and not by walking-delegates.

This non-transferable quality of the labor vote was strikingly illustrated in the campaign of 1896. There was a general suspicion that workingmen had been coerced by corporations. It was loudly proclaimed that employers everywhere were using force to compel laborers to vote for the gold standard. Bryan went so far as publicly to advise the workmen to walk in procession and wear the gold badge, but to vote the other ticket. This was justified on the theory that workingmen are easily influenced, and that they would be afraid to vote according to their convictions. Instead of trying to coerce the labor vote, the corporations were afraid even to seem to be trying to influence workmen. The prejudice of the workmen was so strong that the least effort on the part of employers to use influence had the opposite effect. Wherever laborers thought anything was being done to influence them, they would promptly follow a contrary course. Despite the influence of the popular prejudice against corporations and in favor of Bryan, there was practically no perceptible change in the general voting of workingmen. The real change of votes occurred among the farmers and sentimentalists, but the workingmen remained with the party of their previous affiliation. If corporations had made an effort, either by persuasion or coercion, it is likely they would have driven the laborers into the Bryan camp.



There is great danger that workingmen may be influenced by false reasoning; but this would not be due to an attempt to change or control the labor vote, but rather to the growing tendency, not merely among workingmen, but among farmers, small traders, and professional men, toward socialistic sentiment. It is this sentiment that makes Mr Roosevelt popular in the West. There is a general belief that he is an enemy to corporations, and that he will break the trusts and curb the money-power. But this is not due to labor-unions. Small farmers are much more easily influenced in this way than wage-workers, especially the wage-workers in manufacturing centers. It is undoubtedly true that Mr Roosevelt made himself popular with the workingmen by his attitude in the coal strike; but no more so than with the small farmers, who are surcharged with an anti-trust prejudice.

The idea that workingmen, and particularly organized laborers, can be compelled by labor-leaders to vote for this or that party is utterly erroneous, and nobody knows this better than the labor-leaders themselves. If Mr Gompers, for instance, should try to influence the American Federation to vote for the Republican party, the effect would be to drive votes away from Roosevelt. Mr Gompers would also probably lose his own job. Laborers everywhere would denounce him as a tool of capital.

This was thoroughly illustrated in the Ohio election last October. Tom Johnson made a desperate effort to catch the labor vote. He put a number of socialistic speakers and single tax advocates and labor leaders in office, and during the campaign he turned them all loose on the voters. He attacked corporations in the most violent manner and abused Senator Hanna as the personal representative of corporations and the money-power. Senator Hanna, on the other hand, squarely attacked socialism, single-tax, and other economic heresies Johnson stood for. The result was that



Johnson, who had previously been elected twice as mayor of Cleveland, was snowed under throughout the state. His strenuous effort to obtain the labor vote was obvious humbug, and the workingmen of Ohio noted it as promptly as anybody, and deserted Johnson for Hanna. Johnson did not carry his own county, his own city of which he was mayor, his own district, or even his own precinct.

There is one general fact that tends to influence laborers to vote against the Republican party, and that is the belief that it is the party of the rich, the party of corporations and employers. As a matter of fact, the majority of wage-workers always vote the Democratic ticket. No matter how bad the platform or how crazy the candidate, this has become traditional; but in this they are not unlike a large number of other citizens. In some states, as in the South, the business men, and, in fact, the great mass of voters, do the same thing. They vote the Democratic ticket no matter what it stands for; and in certain other states, like Vermont and Massachusetts, the same class of people vote the Republican ticket with just as little discrimination. They do not act more intelligently in the matter than do the laborers.

Politics is like religion. With a very large class party affiliations are decided by tradition and habit, and only very slowly modified by change or personal conviction. In this respect the great mass of the laborers are very similar to the business men and other citizens. The way to get the labor vote is to promote sound party policy and industrial prosperity and act with fairness toward general industrial movements all the time. Laborers are not influenced at all by special policy. They are influenced solely by what affects their own economic interests; and, in this respect, they are just like other people. They may, of course, have less apprehension of what really affects their interests, and for that reason they may be more easily influenced by false notions and erroneous policies. Yet in the last two national cam-



paigns there were 7,000,000 citizens who voted for Bryan and free silver, and but a small proportion of these were wage-workers. Farmers, professional men, and capitalists all voted for this heresy. They voted for Bryan and his vagaries not because they understood them, or in any special way believed in them, but because he was the candidate of the party. Even Judge Parker twice voted for Bryan. No ignorant laborer did worse than that. He simply followed his party and voted for the worst economic heresy of modern times; and there were hundreds of thousands of intelligent workingmen who would not do this. Of course, if a political party persistently arrays itself against everything that laborers want, both reasonable and unreasonable, it tends to drive the laborers into the other party.

During the last twenty years there has been a tendency among unions and laboring men generally to believe that it is to their interest in politics to support special measures rather than parties. So it comes that if one party is hostile to a measure generally desired by laborers the laborers are apt to vote for the other party. It goes without saying that laborers generally are opposed to injunctions. It was the knowledge of this fact that led Bryan to put in the Democratic platform in both 1896 and 1900 a clause against 'government by injunction;' but it had no perceptible effect upon the labor vote. The laborers perceived that it was put in to catch votes, as they perceived that Hill's clause about government ownership of the coal mines was put in to catch votes. They saw it as a political trick, and refused to be taken in by it.

Of course there are exceptions. A man who is conspicuously favorable to labor in season and out of season, when he is not a candidate for office as well as when he is a candidate for office—such a man may be very popular with the laborers. But this is not due to the influence of the unions or of the organization leaders, but to the popularity of the



candidate himself. It is probably true that Mr Roosevelt's friends expect that he will get many votes because of his action in the coal strike, but it is very doubtful if it will perceptibly affect the vote of laborers in any state. There may be a more friendly feeling toward him in Pennsylvania, but it will make very little difference in the vote. His refusal to sustain the union in the Miller case and his failure to promise aid to the Colorado representatives will probably undo anything that his coal strike commission did, so far as the labor vote is concerned.

The labor vote is distributed according to the political prejudice and traditions of the state or district in which the laborers live, very much like the votes of other citizens. Being more responsive to prejudice, the laborers are more generally opposed to capital, more susceptible to general demagogism, and more generally disposed to vote with the Democratic party. They voted largely for Cleveland and for Bryan, and will vote largely for Parker. In New York and in South Carolina no power of the labor-leaders could make them vote the Republican ticket; and in Vermont and Maine it would be equally difficult to make them vote the Democratic ticket. Among laborers, as among all other classes, there is a so-called independent vote, which is very likely to go with the tide. If the multitude of objections to Mr Roosevelt and the popularity of Judge Parker are such as to create a tide in the direction of Democratic success in New York, it will be likely to carry with it the independent element; and any such tidal wave in New York will probably carry in its momentum the shifting voters in Connecticut and New Jersey, and will similarly affect the voting in many states throughout the country. A tidal wave in New York will have a perceptible effect in Illinois, Indiana, and the prairie states. That was demonstrated in 1896. The great business men's procession in New York had quite as much effect in Chicago and the West as it had in the



metropolis. It gave the impression that there was a general uprising in favor of McKinley and the gold standard, and that swept with it the transferable quantity throughout the country. Laborers were affected by it, but not more so than farmers, business men, and the professional classes.

The only way for a party to get the labor vote is to deserve it by honorable, straightforward, and fair treatment of labor questions as they arise—not merely on the eve of election. Labor is becoming more intelligent and better informed on public questions every year, and with the increase of this intelligence the labor vote, as something to be bargained for and manipulated, becomes less and less. Today there is practically no such vote and the influence of labor-leaders and walking-delegates and others who pretend that they can deliver the labor vote are impostors. They make promises that they can not keep. Farmers, small shopkeepers, and professional men are much more easily fooled on politics than are workingmen, and candidates and political managers may as well give up the idea once for all that the labor vote can be manipulated at will in the interest of any political party or candidate.



## INDUSTRIAL PEACE

EVERYBODY desires industrial peace. The question is the basis upon which industrial peace shall be established. Slavery was pre-eminently a state of industrial peace, but the conditions were all controlled by the master. Every step in the advance of civilization and industrial freedom has been accompanied by an effort to change the basis upon which industrial peace should rest. For nearly a century laborers, organized and unorganized, have set up a demand to be recognized as a factor in making the conditions of industrial relations. This claim has been as steadily disputed. The struggle has frequently been very violent, often seriously disturbing the industrial machinery of society, sometimes threatening life and property; but in this field the struggle has not been more violent than in other fields of societarian endeavor to establish peaceful relations.

Between localities, and later between nations, the method of adjustment has been war, in which millions of human beings have been slaughtered. This method of adjustment has been more and more discouraged and denounced as barbarous. With the development of humane sentiments and a larger social altruism, which recognizes the welfare of others as essential to the welfare of self, there has arisen a popular desire for the substitution of peaceful methods in adjusting international differences. Even the Tsar, who represents the most predatory government on the earth, proposed the establishment of The Hague Tribunal as a means of substituting arbitration for war.

In the field of industry arbitration has also gained rapidly during the last decade. Over thirty-five years ago, under the leadership of Mr Mundella, of the House of Commons,



a movement was begun in England in favor of settling labor disputes by arbitration. Since then numerous experiments in this direction have been tried. Massachusetts adopted a board of arbitration and conciliation, and many of the other states have followed her example. In Australia and in New Zealand the idea of arbitration has been translated into law. With the growth of large corporations, so-called 'trusts,' the idea of compulsory arbitration has become more popular. A great many investigations into the subject have been made by the different labor bureaus, and the National Bureau of Labor has published much on the subject.

One of the recent contributions to the literature of this subject is a book on the methods of industrial peace by Nicholas Paine Gilman. Mr Gilman is the author of a work on Profit-sharing, one on Socialism and the American Spirit, the Dividend of Labor, and so forth. The basis of Mr Gilman's economic thinking is always some form of collectivism. Though not a socialist, he advocates profit-sharing, cooperation, etc., and, hence, readily favors some form of government action. In this instance, the burden of his book is a plea for legalized, if not compulsory, arbitration. He has made a valuable record of what has been done in this line. He gives the substance of the New Zealand arbitration law and quotations from many other documents and so-called expert opinion.

Although Mr Gilman's book may be said to contain the best that has yet been written in favor of legal and practically compulsory arbitration, there is little in the work that really justifies the claim for such an institution. The reasoning is of very much the same character as that for the suppression of trusts. It rests upon the idea that the public should manage economic affairs. Mr Gilman recognizes that this smacks of socialism and admits that "the legal recognition of labor disputes may be a half-way house to socialism," but thinks that is no objection. He thinks "so-



cialism should not be employed as a bugbear to deter sensible men from taking practical steps toward palpable relief from intolerable situations." This is true enough, but the fact that the remedy leads in the direction of an unsound system should always cause "sensible men" to pause and consider. This is usually the dangerous point. When we encounter a seemingly intolerable situation we are most apt to disregard sound principle and adopt the so-called practical steps that often lead to a worse condition. It is this tendency to disregard principles and take "practical steps" that induced the Populists and such a large number of the Western farmers to denounce interest as robbery and clamor for government ownership of banks and public ownership of railroads. It is the same so-called "practical steps toward palpable relief" that led the mobs to break the power-looms in England, that lead trade-unions to break the heads of non-union men, and that lead small traders to call for the government suppression of large corporations. In fact, nearly all the wrong-headedness of those who advocate industrial disruption springs from an over-eagerness to take "practical steps toward palpable relief," in disregard of the laws of industrial and social evolution. It is on the theory that "sensible men" are not to be deterred from taking "practical steps toward palpable relief from intolerable situations" that the lynching mob sets out to hang the criminal to the first convenient tree.

Peace is a desirable thing, but it is not true that we should get it or maintain it "at any price." Any peace that comes at the expense of freedom, at the expense of individuality, is too dear. War is bad, but it is not the worst thing. It is much better than slavery and more to be desired than the arrest of progress. Strikes, for instance, are not nearly as bad for society as the advocates of peace at any price people would have us believe. There seems to be an epidemic of hysteria against the modern methods of industrial struggle.



The outcry against corporations and so-called 'trusts' in many quarters is really panicky. If a quarter of what is said against large corporations were true, industrial freedom would long since have disappeared and we would be now living under a system of industrial feudalism, with a few business barons in supreme control. Yet nothing of the kind has occurred. The laborers have not become poorer or less free, the service of the public is not less efficient or more expensive, the opportunities for enterprise are not less numerous, and prosperity is not less general and permanent than under the régime of individual employers.

If, by any system of government regulations, corporations should be prevented from pressing against one another in the market, and the stronger be prevented from driving out the weaker, a check would be put to the development of improved methods and the distribution of new surpluses to the public. Competition, struggle, and the survival of the superior and perpetuation of the better are the methods of progress. They are the methods by which nature is made to yield an increased return to mankind. The corporation, the great combinations and the 'trusts' are all a part of the system that makes economic progress more rapid and social welfare possible. On the other hand, labor-unions and strikes are parts of the method by which the labor side of this process goes on. Anything that renders the strike impossible and makes recourse to the court compulsory will restrict the economic freedom and competitive power of the laborers, and deprive them of the only effective instrument they have for increasing the distribution of the economic surplus among themselves.

There is a general tendency greatly to exaggerate the evils resulting from the economic struggles in society, and it has always been a pet way of presenting the evils of strikes to tell how much the laborers have lost. The usual method is to take the number of days a strike lasts and multiply it



by the amount of wages supposed to be lost each day and the total is given as the net loss to the laborers. On this plan, Mr Gilman tells us that in twenty years (1881-1900) the laborers lost \$257,863,478, besides the \$16,174,793 contributed by trade-unions from their treasuries; and, on the same assumed "basis of average profits," the employers lost \$122,731,121. By the same method of reckoning, the laborers lost in wages from lock-outs \$48,819,745 and \$3,451,461 in assistance from the union treasuries. The employers lost \$19,927,983; and, by way of making the amount more formidable, he adds the two together showing that the employers lost from strikes and lock-outs together during the twenty years \$306,383,223, and the laborers lost \$142,659,104; making a grand total of loss for both parties \$449,000,000. These figures are indeed formidable. One would think that the loss of \$306,383,232 in wages would send a large number of the laborers to the poor-house, but it did nothing of the kind. As a matter of fact, the laborers have suffered no permanent injury from the strikes during the last twenty-five years, and it is doubtful if the community has suffered.

To assume the benefit and injury of economic struggle by the immediate profit and loss is the most superficial view that can be taken of the subject. In the first place, it is an erroneous idea to suppose that laborers suffer a great deal of hardship during a strike. At first sight, it seems as if their suffering must be terribly severe when their wages cease and they have little or nothing saved; and if this should occur in the ordinary course of affairs they would suffer greatly. But in a strike there is a different sociological environment. The idleness is voluntary, and the workmen do not consider it a hardship, but as a struggle for principle, or for more wages, which means more income in the future. It is the same spirit that makes martyrs for an idea.

In the next place, the money is not actually lost. It is



temporarily sacrificed in the struggle to get a larger amount, and the struggle is so often successful that the amount gained is many times greater than the amount lost; so that the strikes of the last twenty years do not show a loss but a tremendous gain. It should be remembered, also, that the loss is temporary and the gain is permanent. The gain of ten per cent. in wages is not an increase for a month or a year, but for life, and is bequeathed to the next generation.

Again, these strikes have a wholesome effect upon industry. They often check undue expansion and business inflation. They compel capitalists to count with the uncertainties of wage advances. They make it necessary to adopt a conservative policy, and in this way often contribute to the stability of business.

Lastly strikes have a wonderful educational influence. They develop the enterprise and individuality of the laborers. They develop the economic views of both laborers and employers. To pass through two strikes is a liberal education for both employer and laborer. Strikes develop also, the spirit of independence among the laborers, which is an essential quality in good citizenship.

If strikes were as injurious to business and to the welfare of laborers and of the public as Mr Gilman and many others would have us believe, the countries that have most strikes might be expected to be the poorest; but the facts are just the reverse. Strikes are most numerous where prosperity and progress are most general. The anthracite coal strike in 1902 is frequently referred to as an illustration of the disastrous effects of strikes. The loss of wages to the laborers, of profits to corporations, and the inconvenience to the public were all great; yet it is doubtful if, on the whole, that strike was not rather a good thing. It served to ventilate the condition of labor in the coal mines and the methods of the corporations as nothing else could. It is doubtful if any event in twenty years has had so educational an influ-



ence on the trade-unions. It forced upon them the responsibility for avoiding violence and enforcing discipline and altogether relying upon education rather than brute force. It brought on a wider discussion of economic conditions and the right of individuals and corporations. It also helped to explode the divine authority kind of conceit represented by President Baer. Although the laborers suffered severely, they were not seriously injured.

It is well that some suffering accompany strikes, otherwise they would be resorted to too frequently. It is not less important that corporations should suffer a clipping of dividends as the result of the attitude assumed by the coal railroads. The suffering of the public was temporary. A little public inconvenience is also a good thing to stir up interest in such questions. It was a struggle that involved hardship, as all struggles do, but it is in this hardship that valuable educational experience comes. Any governmental regulations or supervisions that should eliminate the struggle would practically stifle progress. All character development, all institutional evolution, all societarian emancipation and improvement come through struggle—struggle between contending interests and intensely different sentiments—and without such struggle new ideas, larger plans, higher standards can not be evolved. It is the only process of evolution. It obtains everywhere throughout nature and society where progress takes place. The demand for compulsory arbitration is a demand for the arbitrary action of government to suppress this struggle by the substitution of paternal authority or, as Mr Gilman likes to call it, the courts, for the free action of the parties interested. Industrial peace can never be gained by such methods, without the sacrifice of freedom and stimulating rivalry, which is worth many times more than peace.

Industrial peace is, indeed, a misnomer. In the sense of having no conflict between economic groups and interests,



industrial peace is despotism. Progress involves a constant distribution of economic relations, and all readjustment of new economic conditions involves a conflict of interests. To deprive either party in an economic controversy of the right of refusal is to deny the right of bargaining. The refusal may lead to a suppression of production, it may lead to loss on either side or both, it may lead to public inconvenience; but all this is a part of the responsibility of free action. The same is true in politics. Wrong influence may lead to a disastrous policy in government, threatening the very existence of free institutions; yet anything short of the right to do this destroys the very foundation of free government. In fact, this responsibility and the experience of errors is the very process of political education. It is the very method of character-building. Free government necessarily involves risks. The bad effects of errors are the means of improving future judgments and adopting sounder policy.

Much is said about the interests of society being superior to the interests of either labor or capital, but this is more sentiment than fact. Competitive struggle between large and small corporations for survival and supremacy, and the contest between laborers and employers over wages and conditions, is not limited to the particular contestants in a given struggle, but includes the interests of like units and all the active economic elements of the country. Those who speak of society as something superior seem to imagine that there is a great world constituting an overwhelming majority of the nation outside of the economic elements interested in the industrial contest. Such is not the case. The so-called public not interested directly or indirectly in the profits and conduct of business, on the one side, or the income and conditions of labor, on the other, is too small to be considered. Outside of office-holders, teachers, and professional persons, no such public exists. Of course, the purchasers of coal are affected by a coal strike, but these are all



either laborers or employers, or people depending upon laborers or the income from the profits of industry. This struggle may be today in the coal mines, tomorrow in the cotton factories; or it may be today with the railroad corporations, tomorrow with the iron or steel or cotton or woolen or other corporations; but every struggle for industrial adjustment is a part of the general struggle of all society, and there is really no such thing as an outside public. Therefore, it is not true to say that the interests of the public are more important than the interests of capitalists and laborers. There is no public that has any such preponderant interest.

Compulsory arbitration, or interference with the adjustment of industrial disputes by the courts, would be a deadly blow to the freedom of this progressive action and reaction of economic forces. It might check many of the evils of industrial conflict, but it would destroy nearly all of the benefits of industrial ambition. In all the experiments made in England and by boards of arbitration in this country, New Zealand, and Australia, there is nothing to justify an assumption that compulsory arbitration would give industrial peace without the sacrifice of industrial freedom. It may check the growth of corporations by forbidding any action that would disturb the peace; but it can do this only by lessening the range of free industrial activity.

The work of boards of conciliation and arbitration and the efforts of the Civic Federation and the services of prominent citizens in bringing contesting parties together are wholesome, educational, and very helpful; but all the really useful effort in this direction has been through voluntary action. The element of compulsion that has thus far shown itself in this country has been the injunction, and this has had an irritating and strife-creating effect. The only industrial peace that is worth having, and it is safe to say the only industrial peace that will ultimately come, is the peace



that comes with the development of a higher standard and more intelligent conception of the economic relations brought about through the experience of struggle. No system of economic adjustment can be permanent that is not brought about by the voluntary actions of the contesting parties themselves. Wages disputes, to be settled economically, must be settled by those who pay and those who receive the wages. Nor can industrial peace be superimposed by the action of the community. It must come through evolution under pressure of competition, of more perfect industrial organization, and larger views of the interests of productive enterprise; and, on the side of labor, it must come through the growth of a higher economic standard, evolved and enforced by more perfect and economic organization. As Macaulay says, the errors of freedom must be corrected by more freedom, not by more despotism.

To be effective, arbitration must take place, before the conflict, and the arbitrators must be the direct representatives of the parties to the struggle. This can not be reached by corporations, on the one hand, or by unions, on the other, surrendering their interests to so-called disinterested and ill-informed judges. Special arbitration can be successfully established only by becoming a part of the system of capital and labor organization. Instead of any system of independent and legal coercive organization, the arbitrating board should consist of a joint organization of laborers and employers, a body in which both are represented in equal numbers and by the most competent members of the group. This joint body might constitute a board to which all disputes within a given district should be submitted, and before which each should be thoroughly discussed before any action on either side is taken. Such a board would not represent the so-called public, but would directly represent the interests involved in the specific dispute, and the decision would be in the hands of experts in the industry. This would not



be exactly a board of arbitration, but rather a board of final appeal for special consideration of the merits of the case before open conflict was begun. With such aid organized, many strikes, probably ninety per cent., would be avoided, not by any interference by the legally established authority of the community, but by the rational consideration of the economic questions involved by the parties directly and most deeply concerned.

A tendency in this direction has already begun. Several attempts have been made in well organized industries to establish such a board, and with considerable success. Nearly all trade-unions have a grievance committee, whose authority is above the local union; and it is a well known fact that this grievance committee prevents many strikes; but as the public knows only of the strikes that do occur, the importance of this work is under-estimated by critics unfamiliar with the inside workings of organizations.

The only industrial peace worth having is the peace born of freedom and established by the character, development, and intelligence of the laborers and employers, and the only preparation for the establishment of such voluntary peaceful methods of adjusting disputes is the struggle and organization of economic groups to make their bargains and enforce their demands by the exercise of organized economic power. All suppression, all violence and military organization, or any coercive interference by compulsory arbitration or other forms of court authority with the freedom of organization and competitive struggle by strikes, lock-outs, or other voluntary actions of the workers or the employers would be a hindrance to progress and to the evolution of the only system of true industrial peace, namely, a peace evolved by the experience and character development that struggle and an organized effort alone can establish.



## PARKER HAS SPOKEN

THE COUNTRY has waited long and patiently for the enlightening word from Judge Parker. The dominance of the Bryan influence at the St Louis Convention and the menacing declarations of the platform on all questions of national importance compelled all who hoped for a rational, constructive policy to turn to Judge Parker as the saving element in the Democratic forces. The New York 'Times' threatened to work for the defeat of the party if the candidate did not put himself above and beyond the Convention and its platform, and the New York 'Evening Post' went still farther and declared: "It is no hour for prating, as Mr Littleton did, about a candidate who is the 'servant of his party.' That party needs a master. It requires a nominee who will spit upon the treacheries and poltrooneries of the delegates at St Louis."

Mr Parker's silence was his strength. So long as he looked wise and said nothing, everybody could entertain hopes of great things from him. His address accepting the nomination has dispelled all these. So long as everything was left to the imagination, it was not difficult to make the man of Esopus a statesman of exceptional proportions. But when he put himself on paper his real measure was revealed and, as Gladstone said of Disraeli's reform bill, the result is the "tiniest little kitten that ever cried mew."

All who relied upon Judge Parker to be the Moses who should lead the Democratic hosts out of the wilderness of political heresy into the open field of rational, constructive statesmanship are doomed to disappointment. His address is commonplace, besides being an acceptance of all the bad elements in the Democratic platform. With the exception



of the gold standard, which is beyond harm, except in case of an industrial depression, Judge Parker espouses Bryanism without the brilliancy of Bryan. In Bryan's advocacy of the radical planks he forced into the platform there was always a ring of originality and earnest zeal; but in Parker's address there is only the muffled tones of meek acquiescence. The address throughout is in perfect keeping with the temperament of one who twice bowed to the leadership of Bryan. It has all the merits of party regularity; and those who believe that obedience to party and complete endorsement of its declarations and doings is the true measure of a candidate, must accept Judge Parker as satisfactory. But there is an absence of statesmanlike expression that could hardly be equaled. It reads more like an address to a graduating class of law students than the utterances of a statesman who assumes the leadership of a radical party and hopes to manage the affairs of a great nation.

He condemns, as all decent people do, the mob-law methods adopted by the Citizens' Committee in Colorado, which expelled laborers from the state without due progress of law. This proceeding is of the same nature as that of the mobs that lynch negroes. His remarks about investigating the administrative departments of the government, and turning out dishonest officials and punishing those who have been guilty of a breach of their trust, is wholesome but very commonplace. There is, indeed, nothing in Judge Parker's address or in his temperament that justifies the belief that he would be more vigorous in this respect than Mr Roosevelt. On the contrary, the probability is that his lack of energy and initiative and his submission to party regularity would lead him to be altogether less independent.

The platform, which, with the exception of the cowardly omission of the money question, is just as bad as the Bryan platforms of 1896 and 1900, Judge Parker endorses without qualification. His acceptance of that document



could not be more complete had he written it himself. This platform says: "We denounce protection as a robbery of the many to enrich the few, and we favor a tariff limited to the needs of the government economically administered." This is an unqualified declaration in favor of free trade, if it be possible so to levy duties as to get sufficient revenue without affording protection. This can easily be done by putting all competing products on the free list and levying duty only upon non-competing products, and by increasing the internal taxes; so that it is no stretch of interpretation to say that this platform declaration of the tariff is literally, logically, and practically a declaration for the abolition of all protection to American industry.

In addition to the unqualified endorsement of the whole platform, Judge Parker emphasizes his endorsement of this free-trade declaration by devoting several paragraphs to the subject. What he says adds nothing to the clearness of the question, but rather tends to reveal Judge Parker as a novice at the job. "We can not hope," he says, "to secure a majority in the Senate during the next four years, and hence we shall be unable to secure any modification in the tariff save that to which the Republican majority in the Senate may consent." Then, as if to set himself right with the tariff destructionists, he adds: "We believe it is demanded by the best interests of both manufacturer and consumer, and that a wise and beneficent revision of the tariff can be accomplished as soon as both branches of Congress and an Executive in favor of it are elected." This shows that he would be a willing instrument of the Democratic majority. His evident unacquaintance with the principle of protection and the economic law of tariff distribution destroys the hope that he would exercise any check upon the recklessness of his party.

On the question of trusts there is little difference between Parker and Bryan. Although he has a milder manner than



Bryan, Judge Parker says substantially the same thing. His unfamiliarity with the economics of the subject is shown by the fact that he seriously presents that threshed-out notion that trusts are due "to excessive tariff duty." He appears to think there is plenty of law to crush the trusts, if officials will only do their duty, and intimates that he may be relied upon to use all the law there is to drive the trusts out of existence, and adds: "While this is my view of the scope of the common law, if it should be made to appear that it is a mistaken one, then I favor such further legislation within constitutional limitations as will give the people a just and full measure of protection." This is a complete pledge to carry into effect the declarations of the platform that "we demand the enactment of such further legislation as is made necessary to effectually suppress them," that is, the 'trusts.'

On the question of the excessive use of executive authority, Mr Parker takes an eminently sound position. He has evidently no desire to be dictator. But this modest attitude must be disappointing to his most prominent sponsors who declared that he must be the "master" of his party.

On the Philippine question he is indefinite. Of course he is opposed to the policy that led to the conquest of the Philippines; but he talks about getting back the "\$20,000,000 expended in the purchase of the Islands, and the \$650,000,000 said to have been since disbursed," as if that were the chief question involved. Even the New York 'World' admits that "his conclusions are doubtful." Altogether, his talk on the Philippines is neither as intelligent nor as straightforward as the remarks of Mr Roosevelt.

Taken as a whole, Judge Parker's address is a weak, time-serving statement. As to the gold standard, he accepts what has been established by irresistible economic law throughout Christendom; but he voted against gold as long as he had the chance. On all other phases of financial re-



form relating to our banking system, he is completely silent. On the great questions affecting the stability and prosperity of our industrial institutions, he is as wrong as the most wrong-headed delegate at St Louis. The Esopus address, indeed, does not reveal Judge Parker as possessing any elements of constructive character. He says nothing to indicate that he has given any deep consideration to the vital questions affecting the national welfare, or that he has the strength of character to resist the most destructive heresies of his party. If elected, he may be expected to be what the New York 'Evening Post' declared to be intolerable—"the servant of his party."

Much will be said between this and November 8, but it is doubtful if the case of the two parties and their candidates will be made any clearer. The Democratic candidate is in thorough accord with the Democratic platform, and the Republican candidate has declared himself to be in thorough accord with the Republican platform. The question, therefore, for the American people is, which policy they want followed during the next four years—the policy presented by the Democratic platform, or the policy presented by the Republican platform. If they want tariff agitation and the time of Congress taken up by business-disturbing discussions and menacing legislation; if they want four years of business uncertainty, with all the legal forces of the government directed to persecuting industrial corporations, then they should elect Parker and a Democratic Congress. If on the other hand they believe in the continuance of the policy of protection and the guarding of the financial stability of the country and the encouragement of the influences that make for business prosperity, they must elect Roosevelt.



## SIGNIFICANCE OF OUR LEAD IN COAL- PRODUCTION

EDWIN MAXEY, M. DIP., LL. D.

NEXT to the character and spirit of a people, there are no factors that equal in importance abundant, sure, and cheap supplies of food and fuel. While this is true of every age, it is preeminently true of the present, which is primarily an industrial, commercial age. And it is upon this sure and broad foundation that the superstructure of American commercial supremacy is builded—a supremacy the ever-increasing importance of which is just beginning to be fully realized, and which is destined to exert a tremendous influence upon the civilization and upon the politics of the world. As is natural, a realization of this fact has led to jealousies on the part of other nations, so that we are called a nation of shop-keepers; and other epithets that are not usually considered as terms of endearment. But, on the other hand, self-interest, which has ever been a vital force in determining political action, dictates a policy of friendship toward us.

The importance of our position as the granary of Europe has for a long time been recognized. In speaking of this, a century and a quarter ago, Burke uttered one of the most beautiful sentences in all literature: "The scarcity which you have felt would have been a desolating famine if this child of your old age, with a true filial piety, with a Roman charity, had not put the full breast of its youthful exuber-



ance to the mouth of the exhausted parent." It is, however, only recently that our supremacy as regards coal supply has attracted general attention. So that when the Paris, Lyon, and Mediterranean railway recently purchased seventy-five thousand tons of American coal it is not surprising that it should have awakened comment. While a cheap food supply has always been, and will of necessity continue to be, an important factor in production, the industrial revolution of the last few decades has increased the importance of coal relatively as well as absolutely. Invention after invention has made it more and more certain that the rôle machinery plays in production must be an ever-increasing one. The evident corollary to which is that the nation having the largest and cheapest coal supply can dictate the economic policy of the world.

This has been foreseen by economists for some time. Jevons, in writing upon the 'Coal Question' in the sixties, used the following language:

Day by day it becomes more obvious that the coal we happily possess in excellent quality and abundance is the mainspring of modern material civilization. As fuel, or the source of fire, it is the source at once of mechanical motion and of chemical change. Accordingly, it is the chief agent in almost every improvement or discovery in the arts. And as the source especially of steam and iron, coal is all-powerful. This age has been called the Iron Age, and it is true that iron is the material of most great novelties. By its strength, endurance, and wide range of qualities, it is fitted to be the fulcrum and lever of great works, while steam is the motive power. But coal alone can command in sufficient abundance either the iron or the steam, and coal, therefore, commands this age—the age of coal. Coal, in truth, stands not only beside but entirely above all other commodities. It is the material energy of the country—the universal aid—the factor in everything we do. With coal almost any feat is possible or easy; without it, we are thrown back into the laborious poverty of early times.



While this language is extreme, it forms the basis of a prophecy—the transfer of the commercial and industrial supremacy from Great Britain to the United States—the realization of which we have lived to see.

Not only the change in methods of manufacture, but also the change in means of transportation, has served to emphasize the relation between a nation's coal supply and its progress. The cost of railroads and of steamships is measurably in proportion to the price of iron and steel, which in turn depends upon the price of coal; and what is true of materials of construction is still more evident as to the motive force that propels trains and steamships. While England mined more coal than the United States and Germany combined—and this was true as late as 1881—it is not so strange that it was the workshop of the world, and with scarce a competitor in the carrying-trade. But ever since 1870, the United States has gained upon England until in 1899 for the first time we surpassed her in our output of coal. What this means no one realizes better than does Great Britain herself, as can be seen from the press of that country.

The area of our present coalfields at present opened to mining is more than five times as great as that of the coalfields of all Western Europe. And while practically all the available coal area of England, France, Germany, and Belgium—the great coal-producing countries of Europe—has been opened to mining, we have scarcely begun. Upon the output of coal by the leading coal-producing countries the following table, taken from a report by the United States Bureau of Statistics for April, 1900, upon the world's coal supply and trade, is both interesting and instructive.



Year.	United States.	Great Britain.	Germany.	France.
	<i>Tons</i>	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Tons</i>	<i>Tons.</i>
1870 ..	36,806,560	123,682,935	37,488,312	14,530,716
1875 ..	52,288,320	149,303,263	52,703,970	18,694,916
1880 ..	71,481,569	164,605,738	65,177,634	21,346,124
1885 ..	110,957,522	178,473,588	81,277,255	21,510,359
1890 ..	157,770,963	203,408,003	98,398,500	28,756,638
1895 ..	193,117,530	212,320,725	114,561,318	30,877,922
1898 ..	219,974,667	226,301,058	144,238,196	35,748,644

In 1840 our entire output of coal was probably less than two million tons, and according to none of the estimates did it exceed three millions. By 1860 it had risen to 16,573,123 tons, by 1880 to 71,481,569 tons and by 1900 to 245,422,000 tons. In the last named year Great Britain produced 225,181,000. Thus since 1868 the output of the United States has increased 700 per cent., while that of the United Kingdom has increased a little less than 100 per cent.; but worse than this, the production by Great Britain, Germany, and France is at a standstill, while during the last three years the United States has increased its production by more than fifty-five million tons, or nearly 25 per cent. If we go back to 1840, the earliest date for which reliable estimates can be had, we find that during the past sixty-four years our output has increased more than 10,000 per cent. While in 1840 the production was less than one-sixth of a ton *per capita*, in 1903 it was between three and four tons *per capita*, the total production being over three hundred million tons. Nor have we yet reached a point anywhere near our limit. It is estimated by a writer in the 'Engineering and Mining Journal' that with its present facilities the United States could turn out from three to four times the present amount. While the 15,800 square miles of coal area of Great Britain, Germany, France, Belgium, and Spain have practically all been laid under contribution, we have scarcely touched a quarter of our 194,000 square miles of



coal area. Nor is it merely in coal area and, hence in potential resources, that we outclass Europe.

As the greater part of my life has been spent in the coal fields of Pennsylvania, I have had opportunity, not only to observe the mining operations of those regions, but also to converse with miners from all parts of Europe with reference to the advantages and disadvantages connected with the mining of coal in the old world and the new. The conditions under which coal is mined in this country and in Europe differ widely, and these conditions are important factors in determining the cost. In Europe most of the veins lying near the surface are worked out, so that deep mining is now the rule rather than the exception. In the United States we will not be forced to face the problems of deep mining. In many of our mines the coal is brought from where it is mined to the tipple by gravity. A mine of this sort is known as a drift. A drift may be horizontal or inclined upward from the opening. Drifts are practically things of the past in Great Britain and Western Europe. A 'slope' is the term used to describe a working where the vein inclines downward from the opening. In this the coal is drawn up the incline to the pit's mouth by mules, steam power, or electrical power. The old method of transportation by mules has been displaced in our mines by steam and electrical power. A shaft, which is the term applied to the remaining class of mines, is constructed where it is necessary to go perpendicularly through earth and rock until the vein has been reached. The coal is then brought to the foot of the shaft and hoisted to the surface by steam or electrical power.

Other things being equal, mining operations are more expensive where it is necessary to operate by means of a shaft—which is the case in the majority of European mines—and the expensiveness increases with the depth of the mines. Furthermore, where the mine is very deep, as



is the case in some European mines, it becomes necessary to replace the wooden with steel props whereby the expensiveness of mining is further increased. As to the relative depths of mines in Europe and America the following facts, taken from reports, are of sufficient interest to warrant quoting:

## GREAT BRITAIN

Pendleton Colliery .....	3474	feet.
Dolcoath Mine .....	2400	"
Harris Navigation .....	2100	"
Ashton Moss .....	2880	"

## FRANCE

Gagineres .....	2640	feet.
Société Cockerill .....	1730	"

## GERMANY

Rhein Elbe .....	3300	feet.
Oelsnitz .....	3100	"

## BELGIUM

Hennete .....	3772	feet.
St. Gilly .....	3280	"

Another condition affecting very materially the relative cost of production is that most American mines are new, while the majority of European mines are old. This is important for two reasons; first, because the new shafts are more scientifically constructed and have better equipment; and, second, the distance from the place where the coal is mined to the foot of the shaft (or the mouth of the drift or slope, as the case may be) is greater in the older mines; and, as underground transportation is very expensive, this consideration is an important factor in determining the cost of mining operations, not infrequently necessitating the construction of a new shaft.

The introduction of labor-saving machinery has been much more rapid in American than in European mines. In the last decade the number of coal-cutting machines in use in the soft coal districts of the United States has increased



more than 600 per cent.; and when we consider that this alone reduces the cost of mining by from fifteen to forty cents a ton, its importance is evident. I have dwelt upon these conditions at considerable length in order that we may appreciate the fact that, notwithstanding the higher wages paid in the United States, we can produce coal at about half the price at which it can be produced in Europe. The following table I take from a British Government report; the figures represent the price per ton at the pit's mouth: France 9s, 12d; Belgium 9s, 11d; Germany 7s, 9d; Great Britain 7s, 7d; United States 4s, 8½d. In 'Cassier's Engineering Magazine' for April, 1901, the estimates of the price per ton at the tipple in Alabama, Maryland, and West Virginia are given as 95, 85 and 65 cents respectively; and this, it is stated, can readily be reduced by from five to twenty per cent.

Our supremacy is still more evident when we remember that the price of coal in Europe is increasing, while in the United States it is decreasing, as is shown by the following statistics taken principally from O. P. Austin's report for April, 1900: Average value at the pit's mouth for Great Britain, 1896, 5s, 10½d; 1897, 5s, 11d; 1899, 7s, 7d: Germany, 1896, 6s, 11d; 1897, 8s, 8½d; 1899, 9s, 12d: Belgium, 1896, 7s, 7¼d; 1897, 8s, 2½d; 1899, 9s, 11d: United States, 1896, 4s, 9¼d; 1897, 4s, 7½d; 1898, 4s, 5½d; 1899, 4s, 4½d.

If we compare the quantities produced per person employed in Great Britain and in the United States, we find that, whereas the quantity is decreasing in the former, it is increasing in the latter. Here are figures taken from the highest authority: Great Britain, 1883, 347 tons; 1889, 326; 1897, 297: United States, 1883, not given; 1889, 421; 1897, 450; 1898, 489.

Our railways carrying coal to tide-water have improved their road-beds and put on heavier engines and cars of



larger capacity and more durable material, so that the freight rates from the Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Maryland fields have fallen considerably. It is stated by good authorities that, with a line of steamers of our own, constructed especially for the purpose, being of great carrying capacity and of about ten-knot speed (which is, all things considered, the most economic) coal could be shipped from tide-water to British ports for five shillings a ton, and to the ports of Southern Europe for 6s, 6d; whereas we are now paying 12 to 14s a ton. When these conditons are realized, and in all probability the day is not far distant when they will be, and viewed in connection with the fact of the increase in the cost of coal production in Europe—it is not chimerical to predict that we shall very soon practically control the coal markets of Europe. Europe herself feels this. The London ‘Trade Journal’ admits “that American exports of coal in the future may acquire as much importance as have American exports of cereals and cotton.” The London ‘Statist’ for May, 1900, says: “The best American coal can be delivered at Mediterranean ports at a price lower by 6 or 8 shillings per ton than Cardiff coal, which is about the same quality.” The same authority says that in nearly all European countries there is a scarcity of coal due partly to an approaching exhaustion of deposits which can be mined cheaply. A British writer, Bennett Brough, says: “Throughout Europe, consumers are complaining of the difficulty of obtaining an adequate supply of coal. This scarcity of coal is a matter of vital importance. British industrial supremacy has been largely due to the abundant supplies of coal at reasonable prices. With a coal famine and exorbitant prices, the manufacturing power of the country will disappear. Great Britain, however, is not suffering alone, for coal is equally scarce in Germany, France, Belgium, Austria, and Russia.”

As an evidence of how the tables have been turned; I



would cite the fact that but recently European vessels trading in American ports brought over enough coal to meet partially their requirements for the home voyage; now they take on enough coal in America to carry them to Europe and back.

The fact that we can undersell Europeans in their own markets is important, not merely as indicating that our exports will increase rapidly, but vastly more significant as nations may not be an advantage to us, but the possession being unmistakable evidence that we have a more abundant and cheaper coal supply. The exporting of coal to other of a better supply unquestionably is. While the taxing of exports of coal is now a practical question for Europe, and is being seriously considered; it will for years remain an academic question with us. That our exports will for some time to come increase rapidly; that this will be of temporary advantage in relieving the pressure caused by a surplus in the home market; that it will encourage American companies to build large colliers and thereby make us a more important factor in the carrying-trade of the world,—is reasonably sure. But the immense and permanent advantage that our vast supply will be to us as a manufacturing and commercial nation does not admit of question.

The conclusion forced upon us by this survey is: Coal is the material monarch of the industrial kingdom, the center of which has been transferred from British hills to American valleys, and that from these coal-bearing valleys future dynasties will rule the economic world by natural right.



## PEDANTRY IN FICTION

PAULINE CARRINGTON BOUVE

TO ARRIVE at the point of view of an author by a consideration of certain detached expressions of his opinion is always a difficult task, but in the case of 'Le Roman Réaliste' of Ferdinand Brunetière the author would seem to have made a special sort of provision for this kind of dissection, and the collective essays treat, under separate heads, certain distinct phases of that modern school of literature known as the 'realistic school.' The second study in the series the critic has devoted to a discussion of the use and propriety of the introduction of technical knowledge and scientific erudition into fiction. The entire study is one of infinite value to the critic or to the amateur, and for their sake will bear translation.

It is not always the best plan, says M. Brunetière, to introduce one's self to the world of letters, any more than to any other world, with a great din and noise of notoriety, majestically if you wish to call it so,—and to thrust one's self upon the attention of the public by main force. M. Flaubert is a remarkable example of such an *entrée* into the arena of literature. . . . Twenty years ago M. Flaubert created a medley of the most excited discussion about his 'Madame Bovary.' Since then he has transported his readers from the meadows of Normandy to the ruins of Carthage, in order to make them turn from Carthage to Paris or to Fontainebleau, and to lead them from the boulevards to the deserts of Thebes. And his readers have followed him; but for them, as for the world at large, he remains the author of 'Madame Bovary.' In that work he reached at once the acme of his reputation; neither 'Salâmmbo' nor the 'Sentimental Education' equaled it; and as to that unfortunate dramatic essay, 'The



Candidate,' as also to that unfortunate, tiresome, learned, and bizarre composition, 'The Temptation of Saint Anthony,' the least severe comment that can be made is that it is astonishing that their failure has not dimmed the renown of 'Madame Bovary.' In truth, if fathers could be jealous of their children, or if it were possible not to preserve an eternal recollection of the first flattering murmurs of new-born popularity, we might easily believe that M. Flaubert has more than once regretted the brilliant début of 'Madame Bovary.' . . . Reverse the chronology of his works. Suppose that he had commenced with 'The Temptation of Saint Anthony' and continued with 'Sâlâmbo!' Of course there would have been an outcry against the novelty of both attempts; but every one would, at the same time, have admitted the rare power of conception and description of which these two books are powerful witnesses. Then, enlightened by his critics, comprehending his true originality, the author would one day have perceived that he had taken a wrong road, and would have corrected himself.

But M. Brunetière is equally conscientious in his censure and in his praise, and after setting forth these faults of Flaubert, he continues:

If, now, these three stories recall to us the methods of the artist and of his processes of composition, they have also been far from giving a pretext for criticism alone; on the contrary, they force us to accord praise to the vigorous organization, which, although it gave from the first effort of the writer its full measure, still persists resolutely to push forward its best qualities and its defects, because the defects themselves are a part—and sometimes the best part—of its originality.

The "paucity of images and the rare uniformity of processes" so noticeable in the work of Flaubert are the result of one of the methods in vogue in that school of art to which he belongs and of which he is a brilliant exponent. The most casual reader will recognize the truth of the statement that throughout the pages of his novels Flaubert



proves that he cares more for the archeological and historical value of his work than for the personal interest that the characters with whose life story he is dealing might inspire.

To tell the truth, remarks M. Brunetière, I do not think it matters much to him whether Saint Anthony resists or succumbs to temptation when it assails him, so long as he can recount at length the history of the god Crepitus; and, provided he can describe the temple of Tanit and discourse learnedly upon the subject of Phenician cosmogony, it does not matter whether or not Hamilcar exterminates the mercenaries or whether Narr' Havas does or does not marry Salâmmbo. Of 'Madame Bovary' something else can be said: It is a painting of provincial manners made over into the grotesque, but it is a complete picture. . . . Is it a work of art? Is it a romance? I dare not reply. At all events it is a strong work, one of those works destined to live as an expression of the time and of the generation. . . . It is thirty years of history, and this result is, I believe, all that the author wished to achieve.

By a slip of nature, M. Flaubert was made to work backward. He unraveled his skein of fiction from the wrong end, and became productively illogical, for the simple reason that logic can not control men, as men can control logic.

This old master of a new school is bound to his circle of antiquated knowledge. He might be compared to a monk carefully and painfully telling his rosary and at the same time detailing a long and circumstantial description of each and every valuable bead. We may find them quaint and curious,—in fact, for a time, strangely interesting,—but they are interminable. The count goes on: Where does Flaubert get all his particulars? we ask. Not that we doubt them in the least; but is this fiction, even historical fiction? An historical novelist is an historical novelist; a realistic antiquarian is never more than a realistic antiquarian. The distinction is unmistakable. Flaubert may present realism to the critical generation, but it is revived real-



ism that may have existed in fact, but that never before was retailed in fiction; realism fresh from the tomb, with the odor of sanctity still adhering to it. Who prefers the ancient odor of the corruption of death to the modern smell of sensational sin? The two indicate the presence of the extreme ends of realism in literature.

A critic of pedantry must possess, to a certain degree, the qualifications of a pedant. Consider the meaning of the following objection of M. Brunetière:

We may add that, if the erudition of M. Flaubert is sound, the use which he makes of it often tends to induce criticism. For example: this erudition is at times impertinent; when he is speaking of *fasces*, it is entirely superfluous to say to us, in a sort of running commentary, "*fasces*,—a bundle of twigs bound together with a thong, an axe in the midst of them." Moreover, this erudition is able to obscure that which would otherwise be clear and without any other purpose than that of giving M. Flaubert the opportunity to make use of technical expressions. . . . Such observation of detail may not fail, perhaps, of some interest. If we were, however, to try to characterize in a word the style and talent of M. Flaubert, the twenty other good qualities which we might accord to him would be worth little; for he is above all else a scholar in fiction. . . . But it is not in his detail alone, it is in the *ensemble* of his work that he displays and develops the qualities and faults of the scholar. Novels, stories, romances, he composes them all as he would a memoir on the sculpture of the Temple of Ægina, or a brochure on the worship of Apis; a very simple and easy method to follow: few general ideas are there, in order not to veil the plan of the work; few episodes, in order that we may not lose sight of the main plot of the story. . . . Emotion is conspicuous by its absence.

Can we not read between the lines? Is not the instinct that would impel us,—one that we must believe impelled even M. Brunetière, whether or not he was conscious of it, for after all, he, like ourselves, is human,—to such a criti-



cism, an instinct of wounded vanity? Not that the criticism is all unfair or spiteful; on the contrary, it is more than justified by its truth and character.

This greater critic, M. Brunetière, proves from his writing the truth of his strictures on the literature of today. M. Sarcey was wont to influence our hearts alone, and often only temporarily from the platform of his 'Conferences.' Be it understood the sight of man is more to be trusted than his hearing, and his brain than his heart.

How do we first discover the great blemish on the face of this ancient 'realism?' M. Flaubert tells us of *fascies*, "a bundle of twigs bound together by a thong, with an axe in the midst of them." He might continue after the same fashion: "A cat,—a small domesticated animal of the feline tribe,"—and we should feel equally grateful for this piece of erudition.

For the time being, a reader is always and most naturally a critic of the book he is reading; and as criticism, although it has one hundred definitions, may fairly be defined as knowledge applied to a pretense of knowledge (though nine times out of ten it is a pretense of knowledge applied to knowledge), the reader has the divine right of the critic to complain of superfluous erudition as shown by such a mass of detail. He perceives that he is being treated as a child by the writer who stops once in every ten lines, looks benignantly over his spectacles, and defines "cat,—a small, domesticated," etc.

Is not this feeling at the foundation of some of M. Brunetière's merely human criticisms,—and human is not invariably a synonym for fallible,—of M. Flaubert and his school? It is more than all else natural that it should be so, and if we have lived, we have learned that nature is as near to truth as we shall ever get. In many ways, nevertheless, as M. Brunetière has before said, M. Flaubert, his work, and his school are distinctly admirable, and now-



adays, "when one has once undertaken to admire, one finds that admiration is not separable or divisible, and one has either contracted to find everything admirable,—or nothing at all."

The closing pages of the essay on 'Erudition' contain a *résumé* of the whole, and the closing lines are clear and concise: "All the 'Salâmbos' and 'Sentimental Educations' in the world can not outweigh 'Madame Bovary.' . . . They will live also, perhaps, as a pair of commentaries or explanations of their author's first and best work. All's well that ends well. M. Flaubert will not regret having made his *début* by his *chef d'oeuvre*." Perhaps he will not regret having written it at all, or having followed it up with such a volume as the 'Légende de St. Julien l'Hospitalier.'

The utterances of M. Brunetière concerning the questions of literary art and influence deserve the especial attention and consideration of American students of literature and American writers. For a country that has not yet established, or rather evolved, for itself a distinct literature has need to examine very carefully the literatures of older civilizations, in order to assimilate what is best in each and to discard what is objectionable. It is not likely that pedantry will ever mar the style of the writers of our republic, from the fact that there is a great unexplored mass of unique material for fiction before them, and because, too, Americans instinctively look forward instead of backward for literary and artistic impulse. Theirs is the genius of progress, and they gaze toward the light of the future with expectant eyes. Within our boundaries there lies an infinite variety of types, characteristics and conditions, the strong local color of many different sections, and a topography that includes every variety of scenic effect. For description, delineation, and study of character, why then should our writers of fiction seek their inspiration from effete civiliza-



tions or the picturesque ruins of medieval Europe? Why should any writer dress the figures he has created in antique garments that envelop them in an unreal atmosphere?

Archeological research is an unseemly background for romance and the minute details of buildings that no longer exist, customs that have for centuries lain in oblivion, and manners that have had no prototypes for a thousand years, can only destroy the harmony and proportion of a narrative. When a writer uses a vast mass of knowledge as a setting for romantic adventure, he becomes a pedant, not a novelist, and the characters lose their individuality and are no longer able to appeal to us. Even the greatest writers who have introduced an undue amount of erudition into their fiction have failed to make their people absorb us. George Eliot could not take her readers into sixteenth century Florentine life without fatiguing them with a heavy mass of detail and description. In her novels of contemporary English life she poured out that large-hearted sympathy which Brunetière calls the "soul of English naturalism." In them she described what she knew, respected, and sympathized with, and that love and respect for the humble men and women whom she created was the quickening force that made them immortal. Our own greatest American novelist is best known by those books that deal with Puritan characteristics.

Though our country lacks much of the grace and finish of older civilizations she has something to offer her future artists and writers that the worn-out inspirations of the lands beyond the sea no longer possess. Her novelists will not have to search the annals of Carthage or Cairo or Rome or Florence for material for drama or romance. They will turn from the charm and mystery of the past to the vigor and promise of the future, and the tidings from the new world to the old will be full of courage and hope and faith, for those who shall bear the message will be prophets rather than pedants.



## HOW COLONIES ARE GOVERNED

### ENGLAND'S METHOD OF GRANTING SELF- GOVERNMENT TO HER POSSESSIONS

STEPHEN PIERCE DUGGAN, PH. D.

OF ALL the political problems which confront the civilized world today, no one is more absorbing in interest, and the solution of no one would in all probability be more momentous in its effects than the problem of Imperial Federation. And the success or failure of that experiment will depend to a great extent upon the attitude of the British self-governing colonies. These are, the Dominion of Canada and Newfoundland in America; the Commonwealth of Australia and New Zealand in Australasia; the Cape Colony and Natal in Africa. While all these colonies have a general resemblance in political organization, they all differ in their economic and particularly in their social structure. A brief survey of the history and present status of each will give some idea of the difficulty of the problem of Imperial Federation.

The British government had always frowned upon any movement toward union upon the part of the thirteen American colonies before the struggle for independence, and the outcome of that conflict had confirmed British statesmen in their attitude. Hence, when the question of the form of government for Canada came up for solution in 1791, the territory was divided into the two provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, which were to be distinct from each other and from the maritime provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Each of the provinces was given an elective



legislature, but the executive authority was appointed by the governor and responsible to him alone. The result, which has proved to be invariable when that form of political organization has been adopted, was constant friction between the appointed executive and the elected assembly, terminating in the Rebellion of 1837. As a result of the classic report of Lord Durham who had been sent out by the British government to investigate, the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada were united and in 1846 a responsible ministry was instituted. Though the great problem of Canadian politics, the harmonizing of two peoples differing in race, language, and religion, was by no means solved by the measures of 1846, sufficient progress was made in the next two decades, to create a desire upon the part of the people of both Upper and Lower Canada to confer with the maritime provinces as to the new organization which the latter were projecting. Conditions were peculiarly favorable to colonial federation. The Liberal statesmen in control of affairs at home strongly advocated making the colonies self-reliant and self-supporting. Colonial commercial interests demanded closer political relations, and the unfriendly attitude of the United States after the Civil War hastened the movement. As a result of the passage of the British North America Act of 1867, the Dominion of Canada was formally constituted on July 1 of that year. It is one of the strongest federal governments in existence differing essentially from that of the United States in being, not a government of enumerated powers, but of general sovereignty limited only by specific grants to the provincial assemblies. Moreover, the Dominion Parliament has the power of revision over the legislation of the provincial legislatures, and the almost complete independence from British control is evidenced by the fact that there is no appeal from the decision of the Supreme Court of Canada to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in England except by per-



mission of the Court itself. Of the two forms of governmental organization evolved by the Anglo-Saxon people, viz., the American in which an elected executive is independent of an elected legislature and may be out of harmony with it during its whole term of office, and the English in which the executive, i. e., the ministry, is responsible to the legislature and must resign when not in harmony with it, all the British self-governing colonies have instinctively followed the English model. And Canada, which is the most conservative of the British self-governing colonies, has in this instance as in many others most closely followed the English model. The members of the Dominion Senate are nominated for life by the Governor-general and must possess at least \$4000 of property. The House of Commons is elected by the people for five years unless sooner dissolved, and the qualifications for electors are determined by the provincial assemblies and vary in the several provinces. The executive authority is vested in a Governor-general appointed by the Crown assisted by a Council consisting of the fourteen heads of departments. As in all the self-governing colonies, the Governor has a veto power, but he uses it most sparingly, in fact one of his chief functions is to prevent the occurrence of difficulties which would cause him to use it. The seven provinces composing the Dominion have each a separate legislature with a Lieutenant-governor appointed by the Governor-general at the head of the executive. The legislatures of Quebec and Nova Scotia consist of two chambers, those of all the other provinces of but one, but in every case they have entire control of their own local affairs. While the progress of Canada since Federation in population and wealth has by no means equaled that of the United States, it has been steady and satisfactory. The 1,500,000 French live in peace and amity with the 3,500,000 English, and the \$51,000,000 of revenue leaves a handsome balance over the \$43,000,000 of expenditure with which the \$350,000,000 of public debt may be paid.



The second great self-governing colony, the Commonwealth of Australia, is different in many ways from Canada. Settled originally at Botany Bay as a penal colony for convicts, it received a great impetus after the discovery of gold in 1851. Naturally the character of the population in the early days was of the rough and ready type similar to the early population of our Pacific coast and though this has been greatly modified by the influx of immigrants since the policy of assisting immigrants was adopted, the colonies of Australia have always been characterized by a greater spirit of independence and a determination to manage their own affairs than has any other self-governing colony. Having destroyed the native races, the colonists have determined to maintain Australia as a white man's country and now rigidly exclude Chinese. Without any of the traditions or vested interests which grew up in Canada during the past two hundred and fifty years, the people of Australia are developing along new and freer lines than in any of the other self-governing colonies and they are willing to make experiments in social and economic legislation which could not be thought of in older countries. Especially true is this of New Zealand where compulsory arbitration in labor disputes, old-age pensions, and other radical measures of social reform have been some time in operation. The strongly developed individuality of the Australian colonies and their antagonistic economic interests made colonial federation almost impossible, and when free-trade New South Wales was finally persuaded in 1900 to enter into a federal union with the other protectionist colonies, the resulting governmental organization was by no means so strong as in the case of Canada. The government of the new commonwealth resembles that of the United States in being one of enumerated powers and the commonwealth legislature has no power of revision over the work of the colonial assemblies. But it has been given jurisdiction over many matters



which are not distinctly federal in character such as marriage and divorce, banking insolvency, and conciliation and arbitration in industrial disputes. The more democratic character of the Australian commonwealth as compared to Canada is shown by the fact that both the Senate and the House of Representatives are elected by manhood suffrage. As in the United States, the Senate represents the federal principle in so far as each state is entitled to six senators. The executive power is exercised by the Governor-general appointed by the Crown and a Council of seven Ministers of State responsible to the legislature. The judicial power is vested in a Federal Judicature and there is no appeal from the decisions of the High Court of Justice to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in matters of Federal constitutional law. The six colonies which make up the commonwealth are by no means overshadowed by the federal government and lead a very active political life. The several state assemblies, which in each case is bicameral, retain legislative authority in all matters which are not transferred to the Federal Parliament and the Governor is appointed by the Crown and not by the Governor-general of the Commonwealth. Australia possesses all the elements which go to make up a strong state. Though not equaling Canada in population, it does in revenue, and far surpasses it in commerce. Moreover, the population is homogeneous and the feeling among the people that they are developing a new nation is very strong. Imperial Federation meets its coldest reception among the self-governing colonies in Australia.

The British South African colonies, viz., the Cape and Natal, have had more serious obstacles to contend with in the course of their development than any of the other self-governing colonies. Unlike the French in Canada, the Dutch in South Africa have presented a dogged opposition to any form of union with the British; and, unlike the na-



tives of Australia, the blacks of South Africa do not dwindle away when brought into contact with the white man. In Cape Colony the blacks number two-thirds of the population; in Natal nearly seven-eighths, and in recent years there has been a great influx of East Indians, especially into Natal where they number 70,000 to the European 65,000. Evidently South Africa is not destined to be a white man's country in the sense that Australia is, and hence we find a wholly different attitude adopted towards Asiatic immigration. On the ground that the Kaffir will not work steadily in the mines, and that white labor would be too costly, the Cape has recently taken to importing Chinese coolies, against which action the Australians have protested. At first East Indians were favored, but as they remained in the colonies, especially in Natal, after their term of service had expired, and competed upon unfavorable terms with the whites both as farmers and small traders, measures are now favored rather to exclude them than to welcome them. These unfavorable conditions have had a deep influence upon the political organization of these colonies. In both colonies there is a property qualification for the right to vote, and in the Cape an additional educational test, with the result that out of a population of one million in Natal the electors number only 13,000 and out of a larger population in the Cape they number less than 120,000. And these colonies are less independent of the home government than any of the other self-governing colonies, e. g., in order to protect the great unrepresented native majority in Natal against unfriendly action by the white minority, constitutional limitations provide for the appointment by the Crown of some of the highest administrative officials, and provision is made for defraying the expenses of the education of the natives. The legislative authority in the colonies is vested in a bicameral legislature, the members of which must be possessed of considerable property, in the Cape the minimum being £2000, and



speeches can be made in either Dutch or English. The executive authority is vested in a Governor and an Executive Council appointed by the Crown, and the administration is carried on by a responsible ministry. Above the Governors is Lord Milner, the High Commissioner for British South Africa, who has a general supervision over all the British possessions, crown or self-governing. Colonial Federation in South Africa while often broached has never been put into operation, chiefly because both Dutch and English were doubtful of the outcome. However, a first step toward it was taken in 1898, when a Zollverein or customs union between the Cape, Natal, Orange Free State, Basutoland, and Bechuanaland went into operation. What effect upon colonial federation the Boer war may have remains yet to be seen. Imperial Federation is favored in South Africa because the colonists feel the need of imperial support against native and Africander.

Thus the self-governing colonies have attained an almost independent political life and are bound to the mother country by ties of affection and mutual support. They not only manage almost absolutely their internal affairs, but they control their own tariff policy, and no matters of British foreign policy involving their interests are settled until their Agents-general are consulted. These Agents-general are virtually ambassadors of the great self-governing colonies to the mother country and form a kind of Colonial Privy Council. They are usually men of great ability, are well-paid, and have a wide influence. Despite the efforts of the Imperial Federation League, the informal advisory council constituted by the Agents-general is likely to be the only political federal relation that will be adopted for a long time. British political institutions are not the result of conscious creation, but of gradual evolution, and neither the introduction of colonial representatives into Parliament nor the creation of an Imperial Parliament is



looked upon with favor by British statesmen. In fact, the only part of the scheme of present interest is that of commercial federation. Mr Chamberlain proposes that there be free trade within the empire, but that the individual ports be permitted to place duties on imports from foreign countries, and that Great Britain herself impose duties on agricultural products for the benefit of her colonies as against the rest of the world. Mr Chamberlain points out that by far the greater part of the trade of the colonies is in the hands of the mother country, e. g., she controls 70 per cent. of the trade of Australia, 63 per cent. of that of Natal, 55 per cent. of that of India, and 45 per cent. of that of Canada. And he also shows that the per capita consumption of British goods in Australia is \$33; in Cape Colony, \$23; in Canada, \$8.50; while in Germany it is only \$2.50; in United States, \$1.50; in France, \$2.60; in Russia, \$0.50. But at the same time, the entire trade of Great Britain with the colonies amounted in 1902 to £204,000,000 out of a total commerce of £815,000,000, i. e., to about 25 per cent. Were Great Britain to grant preferential rates to colonial produce, it is probable that foreign governments would retaliate, and it is evident that it will be a long time before the colonial market would compensate for the loss of the foreign. Neither the people of Great Britain nor those of the colonies have yet had an opportunity to vote on the question, though Canada has led the way to closer commercial relations by granting preferential rates to the mother country in its markets. The question, of momentous import, not only to Great Britain but to the entire civilized world, will in all probability come before the British people for decision at an early day, and the decision will be awaited with profound interest.



## OUR MOTLEY GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

STANHOPE SAMS

IT HAS probably been the experience of thousands of 'general readers' of the daily press and magazines that the Japanese and Russians seem to be fighting in a region of earth as uncharted as the vicinity of the North Pole or the fabled continent of Atlantis. Hudibras calls attention to the resourcefulness of geographers who "on uninhabitable downs put elephants instead of towns;" and regions now known as Japan, Korea, and Manchuria were indicated on the maps by griffins and dragons until Marco Polo began to clear up the ignorance that concealed them. For all the aid that we may get from English or American maps, in following the course of the victorious Japanese armies and fleets, this entire region might still be occupied on the maps by gorgons and hydras and chimeras dire. There is hardly a name mentioned in the war despatches that one may find readily in his atlas. Korea appears nearly as often with a C as with a K, and its familiar ports are variously spelled according to caprice, national prejudice, or ignorance. It may be Gen-san this morning and Won-san this afternoon; and Chemulpho and Chinampho may drop their h's as if they were English words in the mouth of a London cockney. One despatch will have it Seul, another Söul, and another Soeul—all referring to the same place. The Russian names, whether of generals or of places, may be spelled according to the French, German, English, Russian, or merely stupid way.

But this confusion is not limited to the vicinity of the seat of war. Secretary Hay, with broad sardonic humor,



limited the area of hostilities. It is a pity that he could not also have limited the ignorance of American and English geographers. But perhaps this is beyond metes and bounds. If you take up a map of any country of Europe—a map such as would be understood by the people of that country—you are at once in a *terra incognita*. We may find that the towns and cities and rivers and, indeed, the country itself may have names that are utterly unknown to us. For instance, there are no such people in the world as Greeks or Germans, and no such lands as Greece or Germany. Austria exists only in our ignorance, Constantinople has not been entitled to a place on the map of Europe for four centuries, and Turkey never was on any accurate map of Europe. Sidney Smith once asked if any one reads an American book. Seriously, would any one consult an American or English map, if he could get hold of one that was ‘made in Germany?’

A plain American once went to Europe, landing in Italy. His knowledge of modern geography was limited to information gleaned from the maps in his school atlas. It seemed to him that he had arrived in some absolutely new world. Italia and Roma were somewhat familiar; but Napoli disconcerted him. He could not find Torino at all, until he learned that it was the same place as Turin. A further study of the Italian map so perplexed him that he could hardly associate the true names of the most famous cities of the world with their hybrid French-English forms used on our ridiculous maps. They were all strange—Firenze (Florence), Venetia (Venice), Milano (Milan), Livorno (Leghorn), and so on, and so on.

Now the map of the whole world is an evidence of British and American ignorance. We have charted our stupidity instead of the globe. Let us glance at a few of the most striking instances.

Attention has already been called to the capricious change



even in the names of countries. Nothing is more perplexing in consulting maps than this, and there is absolutely no necessity for it. If we turn to an American or English map of Europe we shall find that, with the exception of the British Isles, France, and a few of the very smallest countries, every country bears a name that is not recognized by, and probably unfamiliar to, the natives. This is the case with Russia, Spain, Germany, Austria, Italy, Turkey, and Greece. In some cases the name is so different that it is impossible to recognize the true name. For instance, Austria is not recognizable in *Oestereich* and Germany will hardly be seen in the German name of the country, *Deutschland*; nor in Holland would we recognize the Dutch name of *Nederlands*. On the map of Asia the condition is fully as bad. Japan is not recognizable in the true Japanese name *Nihon* or *Nippon*. The English maps spell the last word *Nippon*, but it is gratifying to see on some American maps the correct name *Nippon* now used. Persia is the English and American name for a land whose natives call it *Irán*, and China is unknown except in the Western world.

In the case of cities, towns, rivers, and so forth, the confusion is probably worse, because it is easier to remember names of the larger political divisions. Here we find an inexcusable tangle of names that seem to have been adopted by whim and perpetuated by stupidity or crass prejudice. Let us begin near home. On the British map (the well known 'authority' Bartholomew's Atlas) we find the city of Habana—the correct Cuban form—spelled Havannah. This atlas, however, gives the correct form of the name Puerto Rico, although it spells Haiti with a 'y,' and incorrectly calls Argentina the Argentine Republic. Chile is given correctly on one page and incorrectly (*Chili*) on another. All the accents—absolutely essential in Spanish words that use them—are omitted. In the case of the accent, American maps are no better, and omit the accent



from such essential cases as Bogotá, Panamá, Pará, Carácas. Both English and American maps misspell the name of the greatest river in the world, and deprive it of its poetic suggestion by dropping the final 's.' The river was named Amazonas, the English form of which is Amazons, because of the numerous great rivers (Amazons) that flow into it. The English maps spell the capital of Argentina, Buenos Ayres, and this form, it is marvelous to relate, is followed in the American press. The true form is Aires, and this is given in some later American atlases.

The omission of the accent in Spanish words led to an absurd controversy last winter over the pronunciation of the name of the province, Panamá, whose rebellion we were so prompt to utilize for our own purposes. The Spanish accent always shows the accented syllable. A distinguished and learned senator carelessly accented the word on the second syllable, and was laughed at. He replied that in his youth he was taught that this was the proper pronunciation. The press took it up learnedly and asserted that it was a ridiculous error, as every one knew it was accented on the first syllable! It happens that the word is strongly accented on the last syllable. The name of the great Liberator, Simón Bolívar is mispronounced because the accents are omitted. His first name is accented on the last syllable and the last name is accented on the second syllable.

In this connection, attention should be called to two instances that are, perhaps, the most flagrant of all in their display of gross ignorance or carelessness. These are the names given by our Government to the island of Puerto Rico and to the capital of China. The name of the Spanish island that we conquered in the West Indies is well known to be Puerto Rico; but, after long discussion and vacillation, the United States decided to change it to *Porto* Rico. Now *Porto* is a Portuguese form and not Spanish at all; neither is it English. It seems strange that the Government



did not have the intelligence to retain the Spanish form, or the courage to anglicize the word completely. The other instance is the case of Peking, which this Government insists upon writing *Pekin*.

The map of Europe, as it is prepared by American or English hands, is a curiosity. We are taught in our schools that certain places in Europe bear names that will not be found on any map recognized as authoritative by the natives. Attention has already been called to the Italian cities and to one or two others. There is an unwritten law that, while we may retain the native names of the smaller cities, towns, rivers, and so forth, in case of the larger cities and more important rivers we are at full liberty to exercise our whim or caprice. Almost any geographer would give the correct form of such places as Markatshevskaja and Válasúlbonzida, while the most accurate among English and American cartographers would give the capital of Austria as Vienna, instead of Wien, its true German form; Constantinople, instead of Stamboul, its beautiful Turkish name; 'St' Petersburg, instead of dropping the 'St' as the Russians do; put a final 's' on Lyon and Marseille, France; spell the capital of Norway 'Christiania,' instead of Kristiania; Munich, instead of Muenchen; and Cologne, instead of Cöln. The river Danube flows only through the imagination of American and English geographers; the river that flows through Austria is the Danau. There are so many instances of this Frenchifying of modern European names, such as Seville for the true Spanish Sevilla, that it is not practicable to include them here.

In Asia and Africa, as might be expected, the case is probably worse than in Europe. We find Tibet still given on English and American maps as Thibet—and this intrusive 'h' is frequently pronounced by the unlearned. Korea and the Kongo frequently appear with an initial and irritating C. The capital of Persia is Tahrán, but our English and



American maps call it *Teheran*, and the unwarranted middle syllable, gratuitously inserted by our geographers, actually receives the accent from persons who should know better. The English maps of Asia are especially hardened offenders. Bartholomew's Atlas, for instance, gives the form Cabul on one map and Kabul on another; and likewise gives on different maps the varying form of Kashmir and Cashmere; Kurrachee and Karachi. The same cartographer spells the capital of the Philippines 'Manilla.' The northernmost island of Japan is called by the Japanese Hokkaidō, and yet the English maps give it Yezo, Yezzo, or Ezo. The famous strait at Constantinople is spelled on English and American maps Bosphorus, although the 'h' has no right to a place in the word.

The same ignorance that causes these errors in the spelling of foreign names of places also makes motley of the names of distinguished foreigners. For instance, the tendency to write 'ch' where a foreign language would have a 'c' or 'k' is responsible for a standard work like Appleton's Cyclopedia giving the name of the Queen of Spain as Maria Christina—the latter word with an 'h,' being absolutely impossible in Spanish. I have also seen a number of times the name of the present King of Spain written as 'Alphonso,' instead of Alfonso; and there seems to be a tendency to write the name for a native of the Philippines, 'Philippino,' which is neither Spanish, English, nor good sense.

There is also a general tendency to spell all Russian words after the French manner. This accounts for such forms as 'Czar,' instead of Tsar; 'Czarevitch,' instead of Tsaravich, and moujik instead of muzhik, and for the French canonization of the capital of Russia. It may be recalled that at the beginning of the Far-Eastern war the name of the Russian general was spelled in the French way, *Kourapatkine*. This gradually got to Kourapatkin, and finally the



French 'ou' in the first syllable has been changed back to the original 'u.' It is astonishing that in a work of such authority as Dr Wolf von Schierbrand's 'Russia,' this French spelling of Russian words is followed. The volume is a treasure-house of errors in Russian names and words. Dr von Schierbrand retains such incorrect old forms as 'Tartar,' 'Cossack,' 'St' Petersburg, and uses the double 'f' at the end of words, instead of the 'v.'

It would seem quite possible to institute a reform in the spelling of geographic names, beginning in the primary schools, by teaching children the actual names of places. It is just as easy to learn the correct name as the incorrect name. Every officer of the American army and navy has had to struggle with the crystallized ignorance of our maps, and every reader of the daily press finds that he has to study geography on his own account, if he wishes to understand the history of the world today. It would seem that we have long enough submitted to French domination in this matter, and that we should no longer tamely accept the French christening of places outside of France. The English have done this tamely from the beginning; but there is no reason why Americans should not be taught in their school books, and should not be able to find in their atlases, the correct names of all foreign places.



## EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE

As IN his complete acceptance of the platform, so in his one-term announcement Judge Parker follows the footsteps of Bryan. To be sure, Mr Cleveland said he would accept only one term, but the temptations were too great, and he accepted two terms. But the people saved Mr Bryan from a similar temptation; and his Esopus speech will probably protect Judge Parker from the fiery ordeal.

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NO MAN in public life has fallen from popularity to the verge of public contempt more suddenly than Odell. He posed as an honest man in politics. He is now believed to be about the opposite to that. Although he dethroned Platt as the machine boss, and made himself chairman of the state committee, his support is now a serious blow to any candidate. President Roosevelt from the first distrusted Odell, and time has justified his want of faith.

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OF COURSE Elihu Root has a right to decline the nomination for governor. But his acceptance, although at a personal sacrifice, would put New York safely in the Republican column, and insure the election of a Republican president. New York may be carried by some other candidate, but with Root it would be safe from the start. To make New York safely Republican would inspire confidence and enthusiasm in the ranks throughout the country. This would of itself have a reassuring influence on business, even during the campaign.

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THE DEMOCRATS of New York are thoroughly alarmed by the prospect of Mr Root's accepting the nomination for



governor. The New York 'Times' is pleading that Mr Root be not pressed further in the public service. Neither the nation nor the state nor the party has a moral right to demand further personal sacrifice from Mr Root.

Is it not lovely of the 'Times' thus to plead the personal cause of Mr Root? No stronger evidence could be given of the fear among the Democrats that Root would carry New York and doom Parker to defeat.

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RUSSIA's performance of sneaking her ships through the Dardanelles as merchantmen and the transforming them into cruisers is on a par with all she has done during the present war. She brought on war by dishonoring her own pledges regarding the evacuation of Manchuria. It would seem that she can really be trusted in nothing. The world has long endured her duplicity, often standing in awe of her; but her power to terrorize Europe is about gone. Whatever may be the outcome of the war, Japan has shown that Russia need no longer be feared, and her menacing, like her duplicity, need no longer be endured.

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AT LAST the Russians have shown that there are conditions in which they are heroic and successful fighters. For months they have been massing men in numbers too large to count and every time they meet the Japanese, the report comes that "after a stubborn resistance they retired," and General Kuropatkin reports to the Tsar that the enemy took possession of the pass or stormed the heights or broke through the left flank with superior numbers. But let a Russian fleet meet unarmed merchantmen and they at once prove their mettle. This is the only kind of victories that the Russians have thus far won, and a few more such victories bid fair to bring them more trouble than trying to hold Port Arthur.

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THE ASSOCIATION of Engineers and several other unions in and near New York have revolted against the arbitration clause in agreements. Referring to this action, the business agent of the Association of Engineers says: "The unions in the alliance don't want the arbitration agreement. In fact, we never wanted it, but it was forced on us, and we are now going to fight against it."

This is another addition to a long list of failures in arbitration. Arbitration is seldom satisfactory. The decision is sometimes accepted, but usually with protest by the loser. The only way labor disputes can be arbitrated is before they arise—that is, by a joint board of equal representatives to pass upon disputed points. An attempt to adjust difficulties by calling in outside parties is sure to be a failure.

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CHAIRMAN Cortelyou appears to be adopting the standard political maxim "claim everything in sight." He claims 267 electoral votes out of a possible total of 476, or a majority of 29, and this is without New York, New Jersey, and West Virginia. This is certainly good claiming, but to get the votes is something a little different. Among the states Mr Cortelyou here claims as safe are Maryland 8, Montana 3, Utah 3, Nevada 3, Rhode Island 4, and Indiana 15. All of these the Parker managers feel quite sure of carrying; and this would elect Parker by 14 votes. If Mr Cortelyou wants to win by prophecy he had better keep New York, Connecticut, and New Jersey in the Republican column. Any estimates that give these states to Parker or leave them in the doubtful list will depress Roosevelt stock.

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IN TAKING the position that foodstuffs and raw materials like cotton ordinarily used in peaceful industry are not "absolutely contraband" our government is rendering a real service to humanity and civilization. If Russia or any



other country is permitted to declare everything contraband that can possibly be converted to the use of a belligerent, then it could stop all commerce. The business of the world and the welfare of the non-belligerent nations is of too much importance nowadays to permit any country so to interfere with the peaceful commerce of the world. The administration will receive the cordial backing of the American people and the approval of the civilized world. The principle laid down by Mr Hay is humane and reasonable, and should be insisted upon by this country whatever other countries may do.

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IN ORDER to offset Mr Root's criticism of the Democratic party for nominating a man over 82 years of age as candidate for Vice-president, the Democratic press is searching ancient records for examples of aged statesmen. The New York 'World' has discovered that Goethe was 82 when he completed 'Faust,' and the Philadelphia 'Record' has discovered that the doge Dandolo was 99 when he captured Constantinople.

Why do they take such poor instances as the Doge of Venice when such incomparably better cases are at hand? Noah is said to have built the ark that preserved the human race when he was more than 500 years older than Mr Davis, and Methuselah was more than 900 years older than Mr Davis. Compared with these and some Hindu worthies, Mr Davis is a frisky youth.

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IN SELECTING Senator Fairbanks for Vice-president the Republicans have reflected credit on themselves and done their full duty to the country. Besides being excellently equipped for presiding over the Senate, Mr Fairbanks has all the qualities for making an able, safe, and successful President. He is a man of large experience of public life and familiar with great questions of administration. He is



not given to springing surprises, but is a clear-headed, broad-minded, and dignified statesman. He represents the best ideas of the Republican party. He is sound on the money question, the tariff question, the reciprocity question, the corporation question, and the labor question, and he is a tried and true representative of the policy of constructive statesmanship, which recognizes the development of domestic industry as the corner stone of national development.

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IN EXPRESSING his happiness at the birth of a son, the Tsar said: "I know by this sign that the war will be brought to a happy conclusion." The Tsarina is said "actually to have come to believe that the reason she has had four daughters and no son was because she had not been able to believe all that is taught in the Greek church." . . . When she consented to pronounce the clause repudiating her former religion, God gave her the desired son and heir."

Can any progress be expected in a nation where its rulers are the victims of such appalling superstition? Of course the millions of Russian serfs are expected to be ignorant and superstitious, but for the heads of a nation, of 130,000,000 people, to believe such stuff as this means ages of barbarism. Any perceptible progress in Russia must sweep away such superstition or dislodge from authority those who are steeped in it.

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ACCORDING to the 'Journal of Commerce,' one of the grievances of the strikers at Fall River is that the manufacturers are putting in improved looms by which weavers can mind 14 to 16 instead of 6 to 8. It is absolutely impossible for New England manufacturers with old looms to compete with Southern manufacturers with improved looms. The criticism is not that manufacturers should put in these new machines, but that they have not put them in long ago. If the operatives insist upon maintaining old machines, they



must expect constantly recurring reduction of wages. The only solution of the cotton industry in New England is for the manufacturers to put in the most improved machinery as rapidly as possible. In no other way can the cotton industry be kept in New England; in no other way can the operatives hope to escape the struggle against lowering wages. If the operatives expect modern wages, they must be willing to use modern machines.

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THE NEW YORK 'Evening Post' has long been a cynical paper, but during the last few months its cynicism seems to have become chronic. In a recent opening editorial on the christening of the Cunard steamship Caronia by Mrs Choate it says:

The damning fact in Mr Choate's case is that not only did he permit his wife to christen the new Cunard steamship Caronia, but himself made a speech at the launching in which he said that he had "all along been an advocate of a close and friendly communication between the two nations." "Communication," indeed! What the American Ambassador really meant was the shipment of English goods to this country, with all its attendant horrors of "dumping."

Nothing but an eager desire to torture the language of a courteous speech could induce such writing. This is the more unkind because Mr Choate, though a low tariff Mugwump, has been very careful to avoid a seeming friendliness to free trade. Such twisting of the utterances of public men is what the English would call a "nasty" way of misrepresentation.

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ACCORDING to the Department of Commerce and Labor, our foreign trade during the fiscal year of 1904 has been the greatest in our history. The total exports for 1904 were \$1,460,829,539 against \$1,420,141,679 in 1903, and \$1,381,719,401 in 1902. This shows an increase in exports of



\$40,687,860 over 1903 and \$79,110,138 over 1902, while the imports of 1904 were \$34,974,153 less than in 1903. The total foreign trade for the three years respectively was in 1902, \$2,287,040,349; in 1903, \$2,445,860,916, and in 1904, \$2,451,574,623, showing an increase of foreign trade each year, the total trade of 1904 being \$5,713,707 more than 1903 and \$164,534,274 more than 1902.

The fact that the imports for 1904 were \$34,974,153 less than in 1903, and the exports were \$40,687,860 more than in 1903, shows that the increase in the volume of foreign trade during the last fiscal year represents a large increase (\$75,662,013) of domestic production. Of course this is discouraging to our free-trade friends who would feign have the American people believe that protection is the destruction of foreign trade. Alas, how inconvenient are facts for false theories.

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THE NEW YORK 'Sun' has made the discovery that Judge Parker is unequivocally in favor of the closed-shop. It cites the case of the National Protective Association of Steam Fitters and Helpers et al., Appellants, vs. James M. Cumming et al., Respondents; volume 170; page 315 of the Decisions of the New York Court of Appeals, in which Judge Parker makes this significant statement:

It is their right to strike, if need be, in order to secure any lawful benefit to the several members of the organization—as, for instance, to secure the reemployment of a member they regard as having been improperly discharged and to secure, from an employer of a number of them, employment for other members of their organization who may be out of employment, although the effect will be to cause the discharge of other employees who are not members.

This is a most unqualified endorsement of the legal right of unions to strike against the employment of non-union men. No walking-delegate could put the case stronger. It is the closed-shop doctrine in a nut shell, and can not fail to



be entirely satisfactory to the most extreme labor unionists. How will this be relished by the employers from whom Judge Parker is expecting to get his campaign funds? If corporations dislike Roosevelt for his attitude in the coal strike, what must they think of Judge Parker as an extreme closed-shop advocate?

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IN HIS EFFORT to establish respectable saloons in the city of New York, Bishop Potter is incurring the opposition of a large part of the clergy in his own and in other churches, but this should not deter him. If he waited for the approval of a majority of the churches, or even of his own church, before undertaking any liberal social work he probably would never undertake any.

The good that will come of Bishop Potter's church saloon enterprise will probably be more in the direction of liberalizing the Church than in moralizing the saloon. Its very discussion will force a broader spirit and a more liberal attitude toward the social opportunities and amusements of the laboring class. The notion is altogether too widespread that the duty of the laborer is to work all the week and go to church on Sunday. The Church insists altogether too much upon making the laborer its ward. That notion belongs to the Middle Ages and to countries like Russia, but it is out of place in twentieth century America.

Bishop Potter's enterprise may not prove much of a financial success, and it is doubtful if to any considerable extent it supersedes private enterprises in the saloon business. It may, however, improve the moral side of the saloon. Those who have millions invested in the saloon business are sure to be alive to all the influences that threaten to furnish successful competition. But independently of its financial success, it is sure to have a wholesome educational influence, tending to broaden the Church in its attitude toward the personal freedom of the laboring class, and to lessen that atti-



tude of wardship the Church assumes toward the community.

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THE ATLANTA 'Constitution' appears to be laboring under the delusion that the tariff on coal is a burden upon the consumers. It says: "The coal object lesson was forceful enough to drive a thoroughly frightened Republican congress to refund the tariff stealage on that commodity of prime common necessity."

The 'Constitution' is right in saying that a "thoroughly frightened Republican congress" suspended the tariff during the anthracite coal strike. It did this in response to public clamor, based upon the false theory that the tariff increased the price of coal, which the 'Constitution' evidently accepts. The real "object lesson" for which the 'Constitution' should put its "mind in a most receptive condition" is the fact that the removal of the tariff from coal had no effect upon the price to consumers. For reasons frequently explained in these pages, the duty on coal is not a protective, but wholly a revenue duty, and is all paid by foreign producers. Hence, when the tariff was taken off coal it simply reduced the revenue and increased the profits of foreign mine owners to the full amount of the duty. Since the tariff has been reimposed, it has made no difference whatever to the consumers, but has simply transferred that much of the profits of foreign coal producers to the American treasury.

If in stating this coal "object lesson" the 'Constitution' will in future tell the simple facts connected with it, its readers will be in a position to form a more intelligent opinion upon the subject. There is no objection to our free-trade friends attacking the tariff, and they may even be excused for not understanding it, but they owe it to their own readers at least to get the facts right.

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AND NOW the New York 'Times' is denouncing Roosevelt for not taking the "gold standard not only out of this campaign, but out of American politics forever." On July 9 the same paper raved at the St Louis Convention because it had left the gold standard out of the platform. Here are some of its choice expressions on that occasion:

On Bryan's platform Judge Parker will never be elected. . . . The Convention expressly refused to declare for gold, thereby confessing that the Democracy is not cured of the free-silver craze. . . . He [Judge Parker] must at once declare, sound-money Democrats will demand that he declare, that the gold monetary standard, as now established by law, is permanent and no longer open to question. We do not say that by such a declaration Judge Parker can avert defeat; we fear it is too late for that. . . . Upon a Bryan platform we should behold a candidate to whom so far as the voters could judge, Bryanism and free-silver coinage were acceptable. In that case the candidate and the party would deserve defeat, and the 'Times' for one would do the utmost that lay in its power to make the defeat exemplary and memorable. . . . A Democrat who is not for the gold standard is against it, and no amount of palavering and word-jugglery will get that idea out of the mind of the Eastern voter.

After much more of the same kind, demanding *that the gold standard be the prominent issue* and threatening disgrace and defeat to the party and the candidate if they dared to take the money question out of politics, the 'Times' is now denouncing Mr Roosevelt and the Republican party for so much as mentioning their loyalty to the gold standard. The party or candidate whose cause needs this kind of discreditable advocacy is in dire straits, indeed; and the papers that will descend to this kind of campaigning are a discredit to honorable journalism.

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THERE is no objection to the New York 'Evening Post's' campaigning for Parker, but if it would maintain a sem-



blance of devotion to principle it had better have some regard for consistency. Here is the way it looks when subjected to its favorite test,—the deadly parallel:

'Evening Post,' Aug. 2, 1904—

One can not pose for a decade as the Man on Horseback, and then suddenly snare the conservative believer in constitutional government by chanting in dulcet tones "let arms give place to the toga." Not only at home but abroad also is Mr Roosevelt's true character rightly assessed. Yesterday's dispatches contained a shrewd estimate of him by a Mexican who opined that our President would make an excellent dictator. As a successor to Porfirio Diaz we can not think of a better man than our Chief Executive. Mr Labouchere's London 'Truth' prints this week a very similar judgment of the President. It holds that the chief magistrate of such a constitutional republic as ours "should not be a man inclined to impose his will on the nation so soon as he has been elected."

'Evening Post,' July 9, 1904—

Let there be no mistake about the effect of what has been done, unless Judge Parker shows a high quality of manhood and leadership at this juncture. It is no hour for prating, as Mr Littleton did, about a candidate who is the "servant of his party." *That party needs a master.* It requires a nominee who will *spit upon* the treacheries and poltrooneries of the delegates at St Louis, and will make his own financial platform, make it clear, so explicit, so uncompromising that no man can doubt that the great financial interests of the nation would be, in his hands, absolutely secure. If Judge Parker is not the man to show this stern quality of the statesman unafraid, the campaign both for him and his party ends before it begins.

To be opposed to substituting the man on horseback for party administration and constitutional methods in this country is honorable and patriotic. To advocate a master for Congress may be heroic, but to denounce dictatorship when it is Republican and advocate it when it is Democratic is to drop to the level of the cheapest kind of political "poltroonery."



## QUESTION BOX

### When Mr Roosevelt Dissents from Republican Doctrine

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir: Has not Mr Roosevelt shown inconsistency in his views on reciprocity? In his speech accepting the nomination he declares that the Republican party believes in reciprocity "on the terms outlined in President McKinley's last speech, which urged the extension of our foreign markets by reciprocal agreements whenever they could be made without injury to American industry and labor." And yet in his message of December 2, 1902, Mr Roosevelt declared himself in favor of reciprocity treaties, and said: "They can be used to widen our markets and to give greater field for the activities of our producers on the one hand, and on the other hand to secure in practical shape the lowering of duties when they are no longer needed for protection among our own people, or when the minimum of damage may be disregarded for the sake of the maximum of good accomplished."

The Republican platform adopted at Chicago gives the following as the Republican view of reciprocity—that it should be adopted as a national policy "wherever reciprocal arrangements can be effected consistent with the principles of protection and without injury to *any* American industry."

It is evident that in his latest utterance—which is marked by an un-Rooseveltian reserve and conservatism—the President had in view the declaration of the Republican platform and not that of Mr McKinley. "Under which king, Bezonian?" Which of these declarations—McKinley's at Buffalo, the Republican convention's, or President Roosevelt's at Sagamore Hill, is the true voice of the Republican party?

W. L. D.

Washington, August 8.



It must be admitted that Mr Roosevelt has shown inconsistency. His message of December 2, 1892, and his attitude toward the Kasson treaties and the Cuban treaty were quite unlike the declaration in his first message and his position at Oyster Bay. But our correspondent's question, "Which of these declarations—McKinley's at Buffalo, the Republican Convention's, or President Roosevelt's, is the true voice of the Republican party?" is easy to answer.

The Republican Convention is the spokesman of the Republican party. McKinley was not an authority on reciprocity. He was not even a profound thinker.

The philosophy of protection does not depend on any individual authority. The Republican Convention is the voice of the Republican party because it is the official expression of a representative body; and, moreover, it is thoroughly consistent with the previous attitude of the party on the subject. The President's voice at Sagamore Hill is the voice of the Republican party only because it reiterates the voice of the Republican Convention. Mr Roosevelt is not the official spokesman of the Republican party. In the last session of Congress the Republican party in the Senate refused to follow him on reciprocity, when he tried to get away from the platform.

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#### Who Established the Gold Standard?

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir: Very much has been said about the establishment of the gold standard since Judge Parker's telegram to Mr Sheehan at the St Louis Convention. Both parties are now claiming the credit for establishing the gold standard. Will you not give a brief history of the establishment of the gold standard and show to which party, if to either, belongs the credit? Was not Mr McKinley in favor of bimetallism; and was not Mr Cleveland in favor of gold? Did



Mr Cleveland's policy have as much influence in establishing the gold standard as is now claimed by many Democrats?

D. W.

Philadelphia, August 4.

The position of the two great parties on the money question is a little mixed. All the credit for the gold standard does not belong to either. It is quite true that Mr McKinley was in favor of bimetallism, and that Mr Cleveland was in favor of the gold standard; but as to the position of the two parties there is no room for doubt.

Mr McKinley was never a real leader, but the convention that nominated him declared for the gold standard, and the Democratic convention did not. Therefore, so far as the two parties are concerned, the Republican was the gold-standard party. It is true, however, that Mr Cleveland accepted gold bonds at a higher rate of interest; but the question of the gold standard was not then consciously involved. Mr Cleveland's position was definitely in favor of standing by gold, but when the question of gold standard or bimetallism was put before the people in 1896, the Democratic party was against it and the Republican party for it.

So when the question came up in Congress, the Democratic party was opposed to it and the Republicans were for it. A minority of the Democratic party, again the followers of Cleveland, were for the gold standard.

Briefly, the case stands thus: The Democratic party has been opposed to the gold standard. The Republican party has stood affirmatively for the gold standard; but the Cleveland Democrats have always thrown their influence with the Republicans. To that extent, it must be admitted, the Democrats have contributed to establishing the gold standard.



## BOOK REVIEWS

THE EVOLUTION OF MODERN LIBERTY. By George L. Scherger, Ph. D. Cloth; 268 pages. Longmans, Green & Co., New York and London.

Doctor Scherger here makes a very able contribution to the discussion of the much confused subject of liberty. It is very commonly and falsely assumed that democracy and personal liberty are identical. Democracy is simply representative government, which may not give personal liberty at all; indeed, it may be the veriest tyrant. The Puritans brought democracy; their compact on the Mayflower was democratic. The New England town-meeting was thoroughly democratic. Yet few forms of government have been more repressive of personal liberty than was the democracy of the Puritans. They prescribed when and where people should go, how they should deport themselves on the streets, what they should and should not do on Sunday, and made it obligatory to go to church. All of this was coercive of personal conduct and subversive of personal liberty. Democracy gives representation in government, but the government thus chosen may be and often is most tyrannical.

Individual liberty differs from democracy in that it relates to acts of the individual over which the government has no control. The democracy of the Mayflower denied the right of free religious opinion. Personal liberty puts the right of free religious opinion beyond the control or influence of government. It says that the political, economic, and religious opinions shall be matters over which the government shall exercise no influence whatever. That is personal liberty. The evolution of democracy, therefore,



does not necessarily imply the evolution of personal liberty. Socialism is democracy, but it is subversive of personal liberty. While it gives the individual a voice in the government, it leaves the citizen no personal liberty. He can not make his own bargain; he can not engage in industry; he can not trade for profit; he can not publish a newspaper. Socialism makes the aggregate of society everything, and the individual nothing.

Under socialism, which is extreme democracy, the individual is minimized and the government is maximized. It is, therefore, important to distinguish clearly between democracy and personal liberty. They are both good, but neither can be a good substitute for the other. Unrestrained individual liberty is anarchy, unrestrained democracy is socialism or elective paternalism. One is all government and the other no government. What we want in the progress of society is neither. Representative institutions or the democratic principle in government is unquestionably the superior form of government, when the evolution of the individual citizen has reached the state of fitness for performing the duties representative government imposes; but this evolution of personal fitness involves concurrently the evolution of personal liberty. Democracy is helpful to progress only when it so shapes institutions as to widen the sphere of individual sovereignty, and gradually lessen the sphere of state sovereignty.

This subject is ably presented by Doctor Scherger. He has presented the subject historically as well as philosophically. In his historical review of government and democracy, he shows that among the ancient and medieval governments the idea of liberty was confounded with popular sovereignty; that the Greeks and Romans recognized the principle of institutional government, representative government, and even popular government, but that this was in no way associated with the idea of personal liberty,



that is, liberty of the individual to think and act without government interference. The government decided for the individual his religion, whom he should marry, and whether or not he should have education, or educate his children.

Individual liberty, or the rights of man, our author shows, was a much later evolution than the principles of democracy. The idea of representative government or parliamentary institutions dates back in Spain to early in the eleventh century, and in England to the thirteenth. Communal or town-meeting government is very much older; but the practical development of personal liberty found little or no place in religion or government until the Reformation. To be sure, the rights of man as a pronounced doctrine found expression in the Magna Charta, and even in the great charter of Henry I, and while it was never stamped out in England, it was little more than a theory. After the Reformation, however, there was a practical assertion of personal rights and individual liberty. But the incorporation of the idea of individual rights—rights that are not subject to government control, that are beyond the power of legislation—into political institutions as a part of practical government, our author credits to the United States. He disputes, with apparent success, the claim that the rights of man affirmed in the French Bill of Rights originated in France. He says it was a conscious imitation of the declaration of the Bill of Rights in the United States. The whole discussion of this subject is very informing, though sometimes a little tedious. The author denies the claim of absolute rights, or so-called natural rights, insisting that all individual rights are subject to public expediency—that is they must be limited by government for the public safety and welfare; and personal liberty must depend upon the evolution of the ethical and social character of the individual.

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WALL STREET AND THE COUNTRY, a Study of Recent Financial Tendencies. By Charles A. Conant. Cloth; 235 pages. G. P. Putnam's Sons. New York and London.

This little book is filled with good sense, sound reasoning, and practical information. The American who desires to know something about Wall Street, what it does, how it does it, and why it does it, will do well to read this book from cover to cover. It is entirely free from vagaries and phantom schemes. It is written in an easy, plain, convincing style, and deals with subjects with which the author is thoroughly familiar. There is nothing of the special pleader in it, nor does the author appeal to false opinion for popularity.

In a chapter on our undigested securities Mr Conant throws a flood of light on the misunderstood question of organizing large corporations. Nothing more sensible has been written on the trust question. He very correctly says:

"A sound economic education would teach the public that high returns almost inevitably mean risk, and that the man who buys securities which have not reached the basis of trust funds should not invest more than he can afford to lose."

So long as there is progress, there will be a considerable per cent. of industries that will be risks, and those who want to take the risks can not be protected against losses. Nor should they be. To protect such people would be an encouragement of foolish investment, of which there is altogether too much in this country. As Mr Conant points out, there is really but one condition that would protect fools, and that is to make the returns of all investments uniform, and that would practically arrest invention and economic progress.

The present opposition to large corporations is largely political, and is due to unacquaintance with the facts and tendencies of financial and industrial experiences. There are



thousands and tens of thousands of people in this country who are eagerly seeking to obtain something for nothing, or an abnormally large return for an insignificant investment, and when they put their mite in this industrial roulette wheel and bet on the wrong number, they join the Populists and Bryanites in demanding a law to curb and suppress corporations, on the theory that they have been swindled, whereas they have been merely fools.

The tendency of legislation during the last few years, and even the attitude of the federal government, shows that responsible statesmen are very largely affected by this outcry against corporations by people who know practically nothing about them. The attitude of the Administration on the Merger question and the St Louis platform indicate how this ill-informed sentiment flavors the politics and influences the actual policy of the nation toward the development of industry.

The cry for publicity, which was taken up so vigorously by President Roosevelt and which is thought the mildest way of punishing corporations is very finely dealt with by Mr Conant in his chapter on 'Trusts and the Public.' He points out that under the English law 'publicity' has been carried so far since 1862 that the representative of a yellow journal or any other curious person has access for a shilling to the registers of share companies, with authority to ascertain the exact number of shares held by each member, with the amount he has paid for them or failed to pay; yet this calcium light of 'publicity,' turned upon the business of the modest and honest rich man, has not prevented gigantic frauds by reckless speculators, or the necessity of further tinkering with the General Companies' Act more than sixteen times in a generation. He further points out that the Steel Corporation is making admirable reports quarterly and semi-official estimates of its earnings at much more frequent intervals. Yet this does not prevent foolish



investors, who insist upon taking great risks by buying on margins, from incurring losses. The truth is, as Mr Conant clearly shows, there is abundance of publicity now, but the reckless buyers of stock on margins do not take the pains to inform themselves. They seldom read the financial balance sheets and broad-sides published in the newspapers about large corporations, but in their eagerness to gamble they act on the 'tip' of a broker or somebody pretending to have inside information; and then they join the throng that demands restrictive legislation. They are not entitled to protection nor to sympathy. They are mere gamblers, it does not matter whether they live in a rural town or a back-woods country, or whether they are professionals in Wall Street.

Undoubtedly, says Mr Conant, publicity in certain cases where there is now secrecy would benefit a few, but it would be the few who now profit most by careful study of values and by shrewd employment of their resources. But it is not these men who are calling most loudly for "publicity," and it is not they whom it is in the heart of the agitator against the "trusts" to serve. To "the man in the street" it is doubtful if publicity would be worth a dollar in increased profits or diminished losses.

In a chapter on the economic progress of the 19th century he has compressed into fifty-three pages a mass of information to master which would be almost an education in itself. While it is free from any pretense at doctrinal discussion, this book is one of the best contributions to a clear understanding of some of the most vexed present-day questions that has been given to the public in a long time. It is a real contribution to the literature of practical economics.

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RUSSIA: HER STRENGTH AND HER WEAKNESS. By Wolf von Schierbrand, Ph. D. Cloth; 304 pages, with Index and Maps. G. P. Putnam's Sons. New York and London.

It has been said by a critic of Dr von Schierbrand's book that it should be entitled 'Russia: Her Weakness,' as there



is a great deal about the decay and impotence of the Russian empire and practically nothing about its present or potential strength. Summed up, the author's opinion is that Russia is going to perdition as fast as possible, although he admits that the people are "gifted and capable of noble deeds." While he speaks with very high authority and from abundant information, it is not possible, even in the light of the terrible exposure of Russia's weakness and ineptitude made by the present war with Japan, to accept this sweeping judgment. A similar judgment could have been passed upon almost any of the present successful nations of the world at some time in their career. Certainly there were periods in which Germany, Italy, France, England, and even the United States seemed doomed to sudden disaster or gradual decay. It is quite probable that Russia is passing through a similar if more prolonged period of storm and stress.

Members of a mature civilization are apt to look upon a crude civilization with dismay and hopelessness. They are apt to consider the present condition of Russia as a stage in a process of decay, instead of regarding it as a possible starting point in another advance. It should not be forgotten that Russia is essentially a young country—younger than the United States. The Americans are compounded of older civilized peoples, while the Russian empire is made up of uncivilized or partly civilized races, differing as widely among themselves as the white people and the red people of the American continent; and that there has not been either time or opportunity for a complete fusion. There seems no doubt that if Russia is permitted to work out her destiny she will assimilate all of her inharmonious elements and become a homogeneous people capable of assuming and holding an advanced position in civilization.

Such a result is far remote. Neither this generation nor probably the fifth generation will witness it. In the meanwhile, it is easy to find signs of decay in her so-called civili-



zation and culture. Dr von Schierbrand has probably succeeded in discovering more elements of weakness in Russia than any one who has recently studied that unwieldy and almost insensate mass. In this respect his book is a success; but it is a success, also, because it presents a great volume of valuable information about Russia and the Russian people, and from a new point of view. His treatment for instance, of the agriculture and the peasantry, and particularly of the "Black-earth Belt," upon which he says Russia's destiny depends, are novel and of incalculable value in any study of the country. But there is no doubt that the note of pessimism is too strongly sounded, and the book reads like a funeral service over the grave of Russia.

Russia, as seen by Dr von Schierbrand, and as it is, is a compound of shams.

There is, first, the sham of progress. It has been supposed that Russia was actually progressing with some degree of rapidity. As a matter of fact she has hardly budged since the time of Peter the Great. The country has been, and is still, rotten at the core.

Then, again, there is the sham of a united and patriotic people. No conception of any country has ever been more erroneous. The Russians are possibly the most composite and undigested mass of humanity in the world today. It is a mockery for them to claim, or for their friends to assert, that they are a 'white' race. They are almost as yellow as the Chinese. They are an unfused mixture of Tatar, Armenian, Finn, Teuton—a hodge-podge, a ragout of humanity. It was hardly necessary for the author to call attention to the fact that many of the most prominent names in Russian history are the names of foreigners or the descendants of alien blood. The Romanovs themselves are alien; and the two most prominent Russians in public life up to a few months ago were of German origin—De Witte and De Plehve.



There is, also, the sham of military spirit and courage. The world has long supposed the Russian an heroic, conquering figure. Nothing is farther from the truth. The real Russian is a pacific and sluggard being, with no spirit for aggression, and is very far from the heroic stature. The Russians have submitted almost tamely to every wave of foreign invasion, from the days of the Mongol conquest down through the Polish, Swedish, Turkish, and French wars. They never have been able to meet successfully on the field their equal in numbers of another race. They have been beaten and buffeted more than any people in modern history. The only element of military ardor and true courage has been the infinitesimal element known as the Varangian or Scandinavian that invaded and conquered Russia centuries ago and has ever since dominated its policy and treasury. One of the greatest of Russian statesmen, Prince Panin, said of Russian wars, as far back as 1801: "The most successful war will only weaken and increase the difficulties of your Imperial Majesty's government, in scattering those forces which since our latest acquisitions are no longer proportioned to the extent of our dominions." This was true then, and it is true now.

Possibly the most serious aspect of the Russian problem is the low state of morals in the empire. A nation may be great without religion; as witness Greece, France, Japan; but it can not be great without morality. Dr von Schierbrand paints a terribly depressing picture of Russian morals, he says:

The Russia of today reminds one of a vast morass. From its swampy soil rise unwholesome vapors. There is a mollusk-like flabbiness in the Russian masses, which prevents them from interposing a manly resistance to vice and crime. With nothing to stop them, almost without a will of their own, thousands of Russians are reeling toward evil. It is not passion that drives them to become the victims of fate. It is not fear of punishment that keeps them back. They are



not wicked by nature, but they allow themselves to drift. They are without moral education and without the barriers of character. They follow limply their own uncontrolled desires, just as children would.

This low state of morality is reflected in the low estate of woman. She occupies, according to the author, a place hardly better than she occupies in Oriental countries. "Popularly she is looked upon throughout Russia as the semi-slave of man. She must serve him, and be thankful alike for a blow or caress. The peasant who does not beat his wife is supposed to have no affection for her."

A very illuminating feature of this book is the contrast that its author frequently draws between the Russian and his great rival the Chinaman. The latter, he thinks, will eventually triumph, not only over the Russian, but over all Europeans, because he is economically superior. While this may be doubted in part, yet so much of it as applies to the Russian is certainly true. The author says:

The Russian has met his great rival of the future, the Chinaman. Everywhere in that immense region he is encountering the indefatigable son of the Celestial Empire, and the latter beats him on every count; he beats him in the rôle of workman, as in that of merchant and banker. By no stretch of imagination will the Russian ever be able to compete successfully with the frugal Chinese, as industrious as the Russian is slothful, as keen of a bargain and as accurate in keeping his commercial engagements as the Russian is the reverse. Neither can the Russian peasant, with his one hundred and seventy holidays in the year and with his vodka bottle ever lying under his pillow at night, compete with the Chinese or Mongolian tiller of the soil, abstemious and hardworking as the latter is. Within a very short time the slant-eyed Mongolian will have become the economical master of the easy-going Russian.

In reading this volume one recalls the famous prophecy of Muraviev: "I believe that Russia has a civilizing mission such as no other people in the world, not only in Asia, but



also in Europe. . . . We Russians bear upon our shoulders the New Age; we come to relieve the 'tired men.' " It must be admitted that Muraviev is almost alone in his high optimism. The greatest and best students of Russian conditions, men like Tolstoy, Gogol, Gorky, Turgenev, Dostoyevsky, portray a condition of affairs that is almost hopeless. The people that live in the pages of their books—and the picture is admittedly faithful—are steeped in ignorance, superstition, and vice. There seems utterly no light and no hope. But some allowance must be made for the lure that picturesqueness has for the novelist, as well as for the critic of Russia. Certainly Russia will not prove an exception to the law of evolution, and will find some path out of the morass and the winter darkness of her desolate condition.

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RECOLLECTIONS OF A LONG LIFE. By Joseph Packard, D. D. Edited by Thomas J. Packard, D. D. Cloth; 364 pages, with Index. Byron S. Adams, Washington, D. C.

This is the record of a long, useful, and distinguished career, and possesses all of the interest of biography that deals with a life whose story is worth the telling. Doctor Packard came of sturdy old English stock which settled in Massachusetts, though he himself was born in Maine and spent the greater part of his useful life in Virginia. Indeed, so long was his residence and so intimate his ties in the South that he is almost Southern in temperament and point of view. He went to Virginia in 1836 as professor of Sacred Literature in the Theological Seminary of that state. The work is edited, and it was partly prepared, by his son, Thomas J. Packard, D. D., rector of the Episcopal church at Rockville, Maryland, a doctor of the University of the South, and Secretary of the House of Bishops.

The most interesting as well as the most valuable things in the book are probably those that deal with experiences in Virginia in its most crucial period. His chapter on 'Life in



Virginia,' in which he deals largely with the subject of slavery, should be read by every one who wishes to understand the period immediately preceding the Civil War and the relations between the Southerners and their slaves. The following will give an idea of the point of view.

It is a great mistake to think that the slaves were neglected generally. . . . I can bear my personal witness to the kindness and care usually shown them. . . . This is shown by the fact that seldom was money made in Virginia by them; no great fortunes were accumulated. . . . The slaves were not overworked or even hard worked in Virginia or Maryland, I think. . . . I remember hearing that Rev. John T. Clark once finding that his overseer had made over one hundred hogsheads of tobacco on his immense plantation with its numerous slaves, told him that he did not want his slaves worked so hard.

It is interesting to find Dr Packard controverting the statement made by Frederick Douglass, who should have known better, that negro children were not even accorded the rite of Baptism in slavery times. Dr Packard says:

In the life of the late Frederick Douglass, he states that negro children were not allowed to be baptized in slavery times. This is false in regard to the Episcopal Church (and I doubt not in regard to the Methodists and Presbyterians also), as our parochial records will show. For instance, Rev F. D. Goodwin, rector of St Paul's parish, Prince George's County, Maryland, reports to the Maryland Convention of 1836 that the previous year he had baptized 37 white infants and 63 colored infants.

A distinguished company marches through the pages of this book. Among the familiar names are such men as General Walter Jones, the famous Virginia lawyer; a group of famous clerics, among them Bishops Moore, Meade, John Johns, and Whittle; statesmen like John Quincy Adams, Prentiss, Calhoun, Clay, Webster, Jackson, and Jefferson; and a few military leaders like General Scott and General T. J. Jackson, the famous 'Stonewall.' It is curious that, as



a New Englander, he should notice particularly that Webster retained his New England pronunciation and always said 'nateral.'

One portion of the book is of great interest alike to the clergy and to the laity—this is an account of the years spent by Phillips Brooks at the Theological Seminary of Virginia. This part of Brooks's career, particularly of the great influence it had upon his character, is too often neglected. The following short extract will give some idea of the interest of this account:

He was very tall and being thin and slim in figure looked even taller than later in life. I remember bringing him out in my carriage and he could not sit up straight in it and it leaned very much to his side. . . . Brooks reminded me that when he was here he had asked me for the post of Assistant Librarian, which was, however, given to some one else who needed it more, as I thought; I made a mistake in not giving it to Brooks. . . . In his second year he was made teacher of the Preparatory Department at a salary of three hundred dollars a year, and started it most successfully on its useful work of more than thirty years. He had failed as a teacher in Massachusetts, but he succeeded in Virginia. His year's life at the Seminary brought out his powers wonderfully.

Doctor Packard was for several years, 1872 to 1884, connected with the work of revising the Bible, being one of the American revisers.



## PROGRESS OF THE MONTH

### **The Political Situation**

The situation in national politics has been greatly simplified by the speeches of acceptance made by President Roosevelt and by Judge Parker. Extracts from and comment on these speeches are given elsewhere in this number. They outline and limit the course of the campaign in a clear and unmistakable manner. President Roosevelt accepted the Republican platform fully and made a brief address, noteworthy for its remarkable change of attitude and point of view and the cooling down of an excited temperament. Judge Parker's speech was as calm and dispassionate as many of his charges to the jury. It seems to have been conceived in direct contrast with President Roosevelt's usual manner. It accepted and praised the Democratic national platform and contributed no new aspects to the situation.

The campaign committees have as yet done little except in the way of preparation of campaign literature and tables claiming the election. Both parties have established headquarters in New York, where Chairman Cortelyou and Chairman Taggart are engaged in planning the autumn campaign.

The chief interest in the election centers in the usual doubtful states and in some that have been made doubtful by recent events. Both parties claim New York, Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, and West Virginia, although Mr Cortelyou has expressed doubts as to New York, West Virginia, and New Jersey. Some Republican leaders also concede New York to the Democrats or regard it as extremely doubtful, with strong Democratic tendencies. Indiana and Wisconsin are, however, the centers of greatest interest. Indiana, although the state of Senator Fairbanks, is yet positively claimed by Chairman Taggart, who is also from that state. Wisconsin may be lost to the Republicans through factional disputes. The entire situation is, indeed, so complex that no forecast has been made by either side



that seems plausible or convincing or that has, indeed, stood unshaken for forty-eight hours.

In New York there is great interest in the gubernatorial election. Secretary Root, greatly desired by President Roosevelt and the Republican leaders, has finally declined to accept the nomination. The campaign for governor will be contested vigorously by both parties in order that the national ticket may receive as much help as possible. It is pretty generally supposed that New York will carry with it both Connecticut and New Jersey.

**Turkey and the  
United States**

This government seems to have an unnecessary amount of trouble with the Sublime Porte. It has never been quite able to bring the Sultan to terms. It has sent fleets into the Levant, and has made all sorts of minatory representations at the Yildiz Kiosk; it has even resorted to an intermediary for presenting its terms to Abdul Hamid. All has been practically fruitless. "Abdul the damned," as Mr Watson poetically calls him, has persistently declined and sardonically defied the American government, which, possibly, he thinks too remote to bring to bear upon Turkey sufficient force to compel respect.

In several instances, this government has played a rather humiliating part in its demands upon Turkey. For months and years it has endeavored to force the Sultan to recognize claims for the assassination of missionaries or for the destruction of the property of American citizens, until our legation at Constantinople was a laughing stock. Even in the present case, where Minister Leishman succeeded, with the aid of a squadron at Smyrna, in extorting terms of settlement from the Porte, the Sultan has evidently taken his own time to carry out the terms. It seems that Abdul readily consented to meet the American demands, but did not set definitely the time for doing so, and has now delayed so long that the American Minister is prodding him again.

It seems that much of the trouble is due to the inferior dignity of the American representative. Only Ambassadors can demand admission to the Sublime Porte at all hours, and any lesser dignitary is compelled to wait while ladies interpose and slaves debate. It is to be questioned whether



it would be cheaper for this country to stop sending missionaries and establishing schools in Turkish lands, to raise the rank of the American representative at Constantinople or to take possession of Turkish territory and enforce our demand at the mouth of cannon. The latter is the modern and approved method, and the present administration, at least, seems rather inclined to the mailed-fist policy.

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**France and the  
Church**

While the situation in France, with respect to the threatened dissolution of the Concordat, the instrument that prescribes the relations between France and the church of Rome, is exceedingly distressing, it is an inevitable result of the progress of the liberalization of conscience and of individual action throughout the world. There seems to be but one logical result of the present negotiations between France and the Vatican—the complete severance of all ties, except those of reverence and faith, that now bind the Roman See to her formerly best beloved and most devoted daughter.

It is probable that the Pope and his Secretary of State have underestimated the power of the movement in France toward this liberalizing step. They are evidently of the opinion that clericalism is still so strong in France that the Combes ministry will go to wreck upon the question of severing relations with Rome. Such will not be the case. No people in the world have so quickly or so determinedly rallied to the support of a liberal movement as the French—even when such a movement is directed at their most deeply entrenched traditions or faith. Nothing will stand in the way of the further liberalization of French thought and individual action; and it is a great pity that the Church does not recognize this, and seek to establish with France relations similar to those it now holds with the United States, where the Church prospers and where there is no question as to a conflict of authority.

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**The English in  
Lhasa**

In spite of the cold brutality of the British expedition into Tibet, the imagination is arrested by the thought of the opening of the gates of Lhasa to the outside world. No one spot on the surface of the globe, not even the North Pole, has possessed



for travelers and adventurers the charm of the Tibetan capital and the holy city of Lamaism. Many of the most daring explorers the world has known have been baffled by the hardships of the journey over the high and snow-swept plateaus, or by the ceaseless vigilance and relentless opposition of the natives. Nature and man have combined to guard the sacred Tibetan city, and only one or two choice spirits have been able to force their way into its forbidden precincts.

Among the most notable failures is the recent attempt of the greatest of modern explorers, Sven Hedin, who would have reached Lhasa had he not been turned back by the Tibetans, as he had already conquered the indescribable hardships that had turned back or destroyed so many previous explorers. The failure of Miss Taylor and that of Prince Henri of Orleans are also fresh in memory. The attempt by Mr Landor and his ignominious failure, is probably too mythical to be seriously accepted as part of the history of Tibetan explorations.

Yet Lhasa had been reached and pretty thoroughly explored before the English army from India invaded it. Father Huc lived there for months and left a fairly accurate account of the city and its inhabitants. Chandra Das also succeeded in reaching the sacred city, but his account is not very satisfactory. The most successful of all explorations was, as might have been expected, by a Japanese, Kawaguchi, who not only reached Lhasa and lived there for months, but thoroughly informed himself about the language, customs, and life of the people. The account of this recent traveler had already opened the gates of Lhasa to thousands of readers throughout the world.

It was not astonishing, therefore, that when Colonel Younghusband entered Lhasa with his expedition he found the city familiar. It had been charted and described far more accurately than had been supposed. Indeed, it was no longer a mysterious city. But despite the fact that the bloom of discovery had been taken from the adventure, the entrance of the British expedition into Lhasa will probably take its place among the most picturesque and interesting events in history, alongside of the entrance of Cortez into Mexico, and Pizarro into the city of the Incas, and Marco Polo into the capital of Kublai Khan.



This picturesqueness, however, does not conceal the hideous brutality of the British expedition. There has not been in history a more unprovoked invasion of a peaceful country. There is absolutely nothing behind this murderous incursion into Tibet except the sordid wish of the Indian government to sell tea and opium to the Tibetans. The world should never forget, whenever it thinks of the degradation of the Chinese opium eaters, that opium was forced upon the Chinese by England merely to increase the Indian trade. England now repeats her ignoble record by forcing opium upon Tibet. Every Tibetan killed in the expedition was practically murdered. It is greatly to be deplored that the British expedition could not have been checked, even if it had been necessary to destroy the entire force. It will help, together with the seizure of Kimberly, the extinction of the Boer republics, the murder of Hindus at the mouth of cannon, to make up the unmatched record of crime and shame that constitutes a part of the history of British 'imperialism.'

**Reforms through  
Assassination and War**

Whenever a desperate people learns that reform can not be expected from a despotic government firmly entrenched in power, it invariably resorts to desperate means. In the history of every country this has been true, and it is not, of course, surprising to find it again made true in the case of Russia. It is not generally true, however, that mere isolated cases of violence have ever brought about the reforms desired. The striking down of a tyrant or of his favorite minister has never struck terror deep into the hearts of rulers. In almost every instance, indeed, the next tyrant has thought that the best way to suppress this turbulent spirit of freedom was to be more oppressive than his predecessor.

The Russians have not yet advanced far enough to construct a revolution, either peaceful or violent; and their only recourse is assassination. They hope that the killing of a Tsar, or of a hated minister like De Plehve, or of a tyrannical governor like Bobrikov, will strike so much terror to the souls of the leaders that they will grant reforms. Such will not be the case, and even the anemic and pacific Nicolas has already resorted to increased severity in Russia and increased oppression in Finland.



It seems, however, that the Japanese war will produce certain reforms in Russia. There has already been a reform movement begun in the lessening of the horrors of Siberian exile, and in other directions throughout the empire. It is quite possible that if Japan wins, one of the chief fruits of her victory, so far as humanity is concerned, will be a constitutional government in Russia—whether or not this is preceded by a revolution, as in France after her defeat by Germany.

It is interesting to note that while the Tsar was unmoved and unsoftened by the assassination of De Plehve and Bobrikov and merely became more despotic, he celebrates the birth of an heir by abolishing capital punishment throughout his dominions.

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**Neutrality of China** Ever since the beginning of the present war the neutrality of China has been an acute question both for the diplomats and for commanders of the land and naval forces of Russia and Japan. It has been felt that this shadowy neutrality might be violated at any time by either of the belligerents, and thus involve other nations, especially France the ally of Russia and England the ally of Japan, in a war that could easily be universal. The hard pressed Russian army of Kuropatkin might seek a temporary haven in Mongolia, that China would resist such a retreat into her territory, and that Russia would consider this opposition as a *casus belli*. On the other hand, Japan might consider such a use of Chinese territory as an asylum for a defeated army as a violation by Russia of Chinese neutrality. Again, the nearness of the harbors of China, it was anticipated, would offer the beaten and battered fleet a refuge—and this has recently proved to be the case.

It is to the lasting credit of Secretary Hay that he sought to strengthen the neutrality of China by suggesting the limitation of the theater of war. Up to the present time both Japan and Russia have shown a willingness to confine their land operations, at least, to the theater of war suggested by the American government and recognized as just by the belligerents. It is quite possible, however, that as the Japanese armies close in on Mukden and Liao-yang, Kuropatkin



may be thrust across the boundary. If he does, he would probably be opposed by Chinese troops, and he would be compelled to surrender to the Japanese victors. Certainly a beaten Russian army should not be permitted to find security in neutral territory, and the passage of the Chinese boundary should be tantamount to immediate surrender.

The sea operations which have been vexatious almost from the beginning have now become a source of the gravest apprehension. As was expected, the moment the Russian ships were beaten at sea they fled like scattered sheep, seeking an asylum in the ports of China and in the German port of Kiao-chau. A torpedo boat, the *Ryeshitelny*, that took refuge in Chi-fu was examined by the Japanese who claimed to have found it armed. Thereupon they boarded it and carried it off a prize. The Chinese had ordered the Russian boat to disarm, but the Japanese claimed that twenty-seven hours after this order was given the *Ryeshitelny* was still armed. In the case of the ships that took refuge in the German port, the Germans demanded disarmament or leaving the harbor, and the Russians promptly disarmed. At Shanghai, however, the second flag-ship of the Port Arthur squadron, the *Askold*, and a torpedo boat have refused to comply with the demand of the Chinese Taotai to disarm or to leave the port within the specified time allowed for repair, thus defying Chinese neutrality.

There is no doubt that China is unable to enforce her neutrality and there is also no doubt that Russia is quite willing to violate it wherever possible. It may be that the Japanese at Chi-fu committed a breach of international law, but they have made a good defense in showing that the Russian ship was armed after the lapse of time allowed by the Chinese authorities, and that, on the other hand, it had gone to Chi-fu not as a refuge but to carry dispatches, and that the Russians began hostilities in the harbor. Japan has refused, in these circumstances, to return the boat. In the case of the Russian boats at Shanghai, although they have defied the neutrality regulations, the Japanese have done no more than threaten to enter the harbor and protect themselves by sinking the Russians ships, if they do not obey the orders of the Taotai, and disarm or leave the port within the time specified.

It is gratifying to see that the earlier reports that the



American Admiral Stirling had deliberately interfered to protect the Russian ships against a possible Japanese attack is authoritatively denied.

It is quite possible that at any moment China's neutrality may be violated so flagrantly as to change the entire situation in the Far East, and bring about a crisis that will involve all Europe and the United States.

**New Questions of  
Contraband**

The war in the Far East has brought out some new questions as to contraband and has also presented new aspects of old questions. Perhaps no conflict between any two other nations of the world would have produced so many complications in international law and resulted, as these complications will doubtless result, in clearing up more mooted points of that mysterious science. It was natural that Russia, foreseeing her expulsion as a naval power from Eastern waters, should have resorted to cruisers and merchantment transformed into warships for the purpose of crippling or interfering with the commerce of her enemy. It is also natural that in doing this her eagerness should overstep the bounds of moderation or of legality. The practise of the American government in the Civil War and of the British government in almost every war affords abundant precedents for Russian use against the vigorous protests being made from Washington and London.

Russia should not, however, be allowed to plead a bad precedent even against ourselves. The world has moved, and certainly the recent action of both England and the United States with reference to contraband has been enlightened and humane. Lord Salisbury's contention that it was necessary to prove that goods, not absolutely contraband, were destined for the actual use of the belligerent forces, before they could be confiscated as contraband of war; and Secretary Hay's explicit and well-reasoned letter to the American diplomatic representatives abroad, which is practically along the same lines, are the precedents which these two governments will force Russia to follow.

That the Russian ships that interfered with English commerce in the Red Sea had become ships of war through bad faith and shameless trickery on the part of Russia, and the clearly apparent fact that Russian resentment toward Eng-



land inspires her naval commanders to turn their efforts chiefly toward English commerce, while allowing the German free passage, will not make the terms that England will demand less exacting.

It may be that all the questions arising out of this war will be referred to The Hague Conference for adjustment, with a view to establishing more clearly certain principles of international law. It may also happen, however, that there are certain principles involved in the destruction of the Knight Commander and the Hipsang, and in the lawless interference with English commerce in the Red Sea, that England will not be willing to submit to arbitration. It would possibly impair her dignity to do so. It is quite probable that she may exact a strict accounting from Russia outside of The Hague Tribunal, and, if necessary, by a strong show or application of force. Russia needs such a lesson, and England will probably administer it, if it will be necessary after the hard lessons taught her by Japan.

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**Japanese Victories  
at Sea**

Japan has at last been able to strike some decisive blows at sea. Her first victory over the Port Arthur squadron, resulting in the serious damaging of the Retvizan and the Tsarevich and the sinking of the two Russian ships at Chemulpo, had been practically neutralized by the repair of the two Russian battle-ships at Port Arthur. These repairs were made possible by the prolonged siege and fine dock facilities. It so happened, therefore, that in spite of the severe handling of the Russian ships, the Port Arthur and the Vladivostok squadrons were practically uninjured up to August 10, when they made a united effort to break through the Japanese cordon to receive the long expected Baltic fleet.

These two sorties from Port Arthur and Vladivostok gave the Japanese their opportunity. On August 10 the Russian fleet at Port Arthur made an effort to reach the open sea. It was immediately attacked by Admiral Togo, severely handled, several of its ships disabled, and the entire fleet dispersed. Only one ship, the Novik, succeeded in reaching the open sea; but this has finally been sunk by the Japanese off the coast of Sakhalin. The battle-ships with the exception of the Tsarevich, fled in the direction of Port Arthur and succeeded in entering the harbor, where they are now



being attacked by the land forces of the Japanese. The rest of the fleet took refuge in the various harbors of the Chinese coast.

The Vladivostok squadron was met by the Japanese squadron under Kamimura in Korea Strait. The Rurik was sunk and the two other cruisers were defeated and sought refuge again in Vladivostok. They lost nearly half of their crews and were terribly battered by Japanese shells. It is thought that it will take weeks, possibly months, to put them in condition to resume operations.

The Russians, of course, claim that their fleets were over-matched by the Japanese in both actions. This is not true. The opposing fleets, in each action, were practically evenly matched. In the Port Arthur battle, the Russians had six battle-ships of 72,000 tons, with twenty-four twelve-inch guns; the Japanese had five battle-ships of 69,000 tons, and twenty twelve-inch guns. The Japanese were, therefore, inferior in tonnage and in heavy guns; but their ships were faster and their guns were better. The Japanese also had the advantage in cruisers and in smaller craft; but this advantage did not more than offset the heavier tonnage and the greater number of heavy guns on the Russian side. The battle was won by better seamanship, better preparedness, and better marksmanship on the part of the Japanese.

The battle in Korea Strait was also won by a Japanese squadron very little if any superior to the Russians. Three heavy Russian cruisers aggregating 35,000 tons, opposed four smaller Japanese cruisers aggregating about 38,000 tons. Each of the squadrons had four eight-inch guns. The only advantage the Japanese had was in better armament. The decisiveness of their victory was due to better seamanship and fire, as in the action off Port Arthur.

It is noteworthy that the Japanese sustained very little damage in both actions. Admiral Togo reported that after hours of fighting he had sustained only slight and temporary injury.

The effect of these two great victories is far-reaching. It probably ends the attempt of Russia to maintain a fleet at sea in the Far East and to send the Baltic squadron to re-enforce her ships at Port Arthur and Vladivostok. It puts an end to Russian depredations in the Orient, and gives Japan immediate control in Far-Eastern waters.



**Principal Events in the War from July 22 to August 21**

July 23.—Russian auxiliary cruisers seize one German and two British steamers in the Red Sea. Russia gives assurances that her auxiliary cruisers shall make no more seizures.

July 24.—Gen. Oku defeats the Russians near Niu-chwang. The Vladivostok squadron sinks a steamer near Yokohama.

July 25.—Gen. Oku defeats the Russians at Tashi-chiao. The Russians evacuate Niu-chwang. The British steamship Knight Commander is sunk by the Vladivostok squadron.

July 26.—More seizures by the Vladivostok squadron and the Russian auxiliary cruisers. The Russians are forced to retreat to Hai-cheng.

July 28.—Russia yields to England and promises indemnity for capture of merchant vessels.

August 1.—Russians defeated and Lieutenant-general Count Keller killed at Yang-tse pass, east of Liao-yang.

August 2.—After three days assaulting, the Japanese capture Shantai, one of Port Arthur's most important forts.

August 3.—Russians abandon Hai-cheng.

August 4.—Russian squadron makes a sortie from Port Arthur and is driven back.

August 10.—Russian fleet leaves Port Arthur and is attacked by the Japanese.

August 11.—Admiral Togo inflicts terrible defeat upon the Russians, driving five battle-ships back to Port Arthur, disabling permanently the flag-ship Tsarevich, and forcing the cruisers and torpedo boats to take refuge in Chinese harbors. Admiral Withoft is killed on the bridge of the Tsarevich. The five Russian war-ships in Port Arthur are the Retvizan, the Pobieda, Peresviet, Sebastopol, and the Poltava.

August 12.—Admiral Togo reports his own losses are practically insignificant and the damage to the fleet merely temporary. The Japanese capture the Russian torpedo boat Ryeshitelnny at Chi-fu.

August 14.—The Vladivostok squadron is disastrously defeated by Admiral Kamimura in Korea strait. The Rurik is sunk and her entire crew killed or captured, and the Rossia and Gromoboi are seriously damaged and take refuge in Vladivostok.

August 15.—The Japanese offer terms of surrender to Port Arthur, which are declined by Gen. Stoessel.

August 21.—The cruiser Novik, in flight from the battle of August 10, is overtaken by the Japanese cruisers Chitose and Tsushima and sunk off the coast of Sakhalin. The Japanese sustain no damage. The Japanese capture the fortress of Etse-shan in the inner line of the Russian defenses at Port Arthur. The fall of Port Arthur is daily expected.



# GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

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## MR ROOSEVELT'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE

MR ROOSEVELT'S letter of acceptance is unusually long, but its length is fully atoned for by its virility. It must be conceded by all, except those who for party reasons can not afford to be frank, that Mr Roosevelt rose to the occasion.

After the two conventions had done their work it was generally admitted that the chief element of strength on the Democratic side, and the chief element of weakness on the Republican side, was the candidate. Much was expected, therefore, from the addresses and letters of acceptance. If Judge Parker could not rise above his party and announce a broader and saner policy than was outlined in the platform, his case was hopeless; and if Mr Roosevelt would settle down to a solid adherence to the policy outlined in the Republican platform, his election was practically assured.

The test has been made. Judge Parker sank to the level of the St Louis platform, and Mr Roosevelt rose to the plane of the highest and best principles in the Republican platform. Judge Parker's notification address and his address to the Editors' Convention were mediocre, routine deliverances. Neither address had the ring, the strength, or the breadth of statesmanship. He endorsed the worst things in the platform, and added not a scintilla of vitalizing wisdom. Mr Roosevelt, on the other hand, in both his notification address and letter of acceptance rose to the occasion with a virile freshness and a modest, because impersonal, courage that is quite exceptional. Both utterances unqualifiedly commit him to a strict adherence to the spirit and letter of the platform, and thus make him a strong and acceptable candidate.



His notification speech was a delightful surprise to the whole country. His letter of acceptance will broaden and fortify the hope inspired by his Oyster Bay address.

The letter of acceptance is controversial, and it is a masterful document. Such withering criticism has not been administered to the Democrats in many a day. He exposes in the most effective manner both the fallacy of their policy and the insincerity of their preaching. With equal clearness and force, he presents the doctrine and defends the policy of the Republican Party against its assailants. It may be true, as suggested by the *New York Times*, that the conservative strength, dignity, and convincing statement of his letter of acceptance is unlike Mr Roosevelt and indicates that he has had advice and assistance. If this be true it is a compliment. It shows what heretofore has been in doubt—that he can take advice and that he knows where to go for the right kind. If he has learned this lesson, he has acquired the one thing that was lacking, and which will greatly add to his official strength and his popularity. If to this extent he is a new Roosevelt, he is a better Roosevelt. The Roosevelt of the notification speech and of the letter of acceptance is a strong, wholesome Roosevelt, whom the American people will delight in electing President, if they can only feel sure that the Roosevelt of today will be the Roosevelt of the next four years.

After reviewing his party's record since 1896 at home and abroad, Mr Roosevelt takes up the Pension Order against which the Democrats made such a howl in Congress and against which W. Bourke Cockran made one of his campaign speeches. This order directs that "hereafter any veteran of the Civil War who has reached the age of sixty-two shall be presumptively entitled to the pension of \$6 a month." He defends this order on the principle of labor insurance and justifies it by what is being done by other countries and by private enterprise. He says:



As a matter of fact, many railroads pension their employes when they have reached these ages, and in nations where old-age pensions prevail they always begin somewhere between the two limits set. It is easy to test our opponents' sincerity in this matter. The order in question is revocable at the pleasure of the Executive. If our opponents come into power they can revoke this order and announce that they will treat the veterans of sixty-two and seventy as presumably in full bodily vigor and not entitled to pensions. Will they now authoritatively state that they intended to do this? If so, we accept the issue.

There is nothing timid or evasive in this. It is an assertion of a principle recognized as sound in general business management, whatever it may be in pensions, and it is quite safe to say that the Democratic Party will not dare to meet his challenge and squarely face the issue as he has presented it. It may denounce pensions in general, but neither Mr Parker, nor any of his sponsors dares say that, if elected, he will revoke that order.

His criticism of the attitude of his opponents on the Northern Securities and the coal strike questions is most effective. He shows, by citing their acts and statements, that they are insincere; that they play fast and loose with both questions, denouncing the trusts as if they would use more law than there is to suppress them, then denouncing the Administration for having done anything at all. Says the President:

Yet they dare not openly condemn either act. They dare not in any authoritative or formal manner say that in either case wrong was done or error committed in the method of action or in the choice of instruments for putting that action into effect.

He then cites the declaration in favor of public ownership of the coal fields in the New York State platform against them as showing that they are utterly dishonest or really socialists. This frank controversial tone is unusual in a letter of acceptance, but the methods and record of his opponents merit a frank and effective handling, from which a more timid man might have shrunk.



When he comes to the gold standard, he really takes off his gloves. The Democrats have made a dishonest presentation of their position on that subject. The party's position was so utterly bad that it had to be repudiated by a considerable portion of its best men. Yet the very respectable element that left the party because of its financial unsoundness is straining and quibbling to show that the Democrats were sound on the money question. On this point Mr Roosevelt says:

Men who hold sincere convictions on vital questions can respect equally sincere men with whose views they radically differ; and men may confess a change of faith without compromising their honor or their self-respect. But it is difficult to respect an attitude of mind such as has been fairly described above; and where there is no respect there can be no trust. A policy with so slender a basis of principle would not stand the strain of a single year of business adversity.

Here he hits the nail squarely on the head. Despite all that the Cleveland coterie may say, the country knows that on the money question the Democratic Party has been positively dangerous. The St Louis Convention and the last platform show no real change of front, but simply a resort to silence. With the influence that controlled the platform committee and the Convention behind the President, a single year of business depression would put our monetary standard in danger. Business depression would furnish an opportunity for the resurrection of the Bryan influence, which would demand 'more money' and maximum use of silver. As Mr Roosevelt tersely says, "A determination to remain silent can not be accepted as equivalent to a recantation."

Perhaps Mr Roosevelt is at his best in his discussion of the tariff. His criticism of the Democratic attitude is destructive, and his affirmative statement of the Protection doctrine is strong, straightforward, and sound:

At the outset it is worth while to say a word as to the attempt to identify the question of tariff revision or tariff reduction with a solu-



tion of the trust question. This is always a sign of desire to avoid any real effort to deal adequately with the trust question. . . . No change in tariff duties can have any substantial effect in solving the so-called trust problem. Certain great trusts or great corporations are wholly unaffected by the tariff. Almost all the others that are of any importance have as a matter of fact numbers of smaller American competitors, and of course a change in the tariff which would work injury to the large corporation would work not merely injury but destruction to its smaller competitors, and equally of course such a change would mean disaster to all the wage-workers connected with either the large or small corporations. From the standpoint of those interested in the solution of the trust problem such a change would therefore merely mean that the trust was relieved of the competition of its weaker American competitors, and thrown only into competition with foreign competitors, and that the first effort to meet this new competition would be made by cutting down wages, and would therefore be primarily at the cost of labor. In the case of some of our greatest trusts such a change might confer upon them a positive benefit. Speaking broadly, it is evident that the changes in the tariff will affect the trusts for weal or for woe simply as they affect the whole country. The tariff affects trusts only as it affects all other interests. It makes all these interests, large or small, profitable, and its benefits can be taken from the large only under penalty of taking them from the small also.

Undoubtedly it would be possible at the present time to prevent any of the trusts from remaining prosperous by the simple expedient of making such a sweeping change in the tariff as to paralyze the industries of the country. The trusts would cease to prosper, but their smaller competitors would be ruined, and the wage-workers would starve, while it would not pay the farmer to haul his produce to market.

This indicates that the President has thoroughly recovered from the Babcock notion, with which he was once afflicted. His treatment of the 'Protection is robbery' doctrine is withering. Besides taking all the seeming sincerity out of that creed, he states briefly, but with admirable clearness, the true doctrine of Protection. What he says is so clear, concise, and conclusive that it might well serve as a model statement of the Protection doctrine:

When they speak of protection as 'robbery' they of course must mean that it is immoral to enact a tariff designed (as is the present protective tariff) to secure to the American wage-worker the benefit of the high



standard of living which we desire to see kept up in this country. Now, to speak of the tariff in this sense as 'robbery,' thereby giving it a moral relation, is not merely rhetorical; it is on its face false.

The question of what tariff is best for our people is primarily one of expediency, to be determined not on abstract academic grounds, but in the light of experience. It is a matter of business, for fundamentally ours is a business people—manufacturers, merchants, farmers, wage-workers, professional men, all alike. Our experience as a people in the past has certainly not shown us that we could afford in this matter to follow those professional counselors who have confined themselves to study in the closet; for the actual working of the tariff has emphatically contradicted their theories.

From time to time schedules must undoubtedly be rearranged and readjusted to meet the shifting needs of the country, but this can with safety be done only by those who are committed to the cause of the protective system. To uproot and destroy that system would be to insure the prostration of business, the closing of factories, the impoverishment of the farmer, the ruin of the capitalist, and the starvation of the wage-worker. Yet, if protection is indeed 'robbery,' and if our opponents really believe what they say, then it is precisely to the destruction and uprooting of the tariff, and therefore of our business and industry, that they are pledged.

The one consideration which must never be omitted in a tariff change is the imperative need of preserving the American standard of living for the American workingman. The tariff rate must never fall below that which will protect the American workingman by allowing for the difference between the general labor cost here and abroad, so as at least to equalize the conditions arising from the difference in the standard of labor here and abroad—a difference which it should be our aim to foster in so far as it represents the needs of better educated, better paid, better fed, and better clothed workmen of a higher type than any to be found in a foreign country. At all hazards, and no matter what else is sought for or accomplished by changes of the tariff, the American workingman must be protected in his standard of wages, that is, in his standard of living, and must be secured the fullest opportunity of employment. Our laws should in no event afford advantage to foreign industries over American industries. They should in no event do less than equalize the difference in conditions at home and abroad.

This doctrine of Protection no Free-traders have the courage fairly to face and deny. They quibble at it, they call it names, denounce it as favoritism, robbery, and greed and apply to it all the offensive adjectives that they can



command; but they never attempt squarely to meet the doctrine here presented, which for more than a dozen years has been emphasized by this Magazine. The editorials of the Free-trade press today, and the speeches of the political leaders simply abound in bold denunciations like W. Bourke Cockran's declaration that "government can not interfere in private industry except for plunder." If the Free-traders would squarely meet the issue presented by Mr Roosevelt, the tariff policy would be greatly simplified. No amount of respectability or abstract theorizing could make popular a party that refuses to accept the principle of protecting the American standard of living. This is the true basis of protection, which, however imperfectly applied, is the real American doctrine, and all denunciation of Protection as robbery, favoritism, fraud, and greed is simply abuse and not intelligent discussion. It is a method of political preaching that only once in more than forty years has had any effect upon American people, and their soup-kitchen experience is likely to stand them in good stead for some time to come.

On the tariff question the Democratic position is chiefly bluster and insincerity, and whenever the party faces the American people squarely on that issue its defeat is as certain as the coming of election day, and to the extent that it may make Protection the issue to that extent will the defeat of Parker be assured.



## WAGES AND THE COST OF LIVING

THE FOLLOWING communication has been received from a constant reader of GUNTON'S MAGAZINE, enclosing a column and a half criticism of Commissioner Wright's report on "Wages and the Cost of Living" by Chairman Cowherd, of the Democratic Congressional Committee, published in the Washington Post of August 8:

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir: Has not the Bureau of Statistics of the Department of Commerce and Labor overstepped the bounds of propriety in publishing, on the eve of a Presidential campaign, a Bulletin on Wages and the Cost of Living? The purpose of this Bulletin is evidently to show that wages have increased and prices decreased during recent Republican administrations. I submit the following questions.

Has the Bureau demonstrated that the cost of living has decreased within recent years? Opposed to its figures are the statistics monthly and yearly collected by Dun's Review, which seem to be prepared upon a broader and more scientific basis. According to Dun's figures, as well as according to the experience of housekeepers generally, the cost of living has materially increased. Is the Bulletin a higher authority than Dun's Review, or than the actual experience of the market-place?

Even if we admit the accuracy and authority of the Bureau's statistics, do they not show a distinctly partizan bias and purpose? Is it not also debasing the public service to the questionable uses and exigencies of a political party?

The known character of our correspondent and the prominence given to Mr Cowherd's article, which is being used as a campaign document, seem to justify giving extended consideration to the above questions.

Our correspondent raises three questions: (1) as to the propriety of publishing a bulletin on wages and the cost of living just before a national campaign; (2) the partizan and biased character of the report; (3) the scientific authority and value of the investigation.



First. The publication of an official document, giving reliable information of wages and the cost of living for the preceding decade, just before the opening of a national campaign, seems an eminently proper thing. The Department of Commerce and Labor was established for the specific purpose of furnishing reliable data on just such subjects. The first bureau of this kind in the world was established in Massachusetts in 1869. Its services in furnishing trustworthy information on economic subjects for statisticians, economists, and publicists have been so important that a similar department has been established in almost every State.

In 1876 a national Labor Bureau was established. During the last eighteen years this bureau has done more valuable statistical work and furnished more reliable information than any similar institution in the world. Special bulletins have been issued bimonthly for several years, and the aim has always been to make each bulletin furnish information on some timely topic, some question in which the public is more or less specifically interested. It would be difficult to imagine such a department rendering more valuable service than doing just this thing. When Congress enters upon the discussion of some important question with a view to legislation, it is of the utmost importance that authentic information on the subject should be gathered and put before Congress, the press, and the public. If a department of the Government especially equipped for this purpose has the information, why should it not give it out before an important national campaign?

Second. The idea that the report shows "a partizan bias" could not arise from a consideration of the report itself or of the character of its author. This whole work has been done under the direction of Carroll D. Wright. Now, if there is a man in American public life who, in his public services, is free from partizan bias, that man is Carroll D. Wright. He was the second chief of the first bureau for compiling labor statistics established in this country. He



was appointed in 1873, and remained the chief of the Massachusetts Bureau until he was transferred to the National Bureau in 1875. It was under his administration that the Massachusetts Bureau acquired its wide reputation for accuracy and breadth of investigation, and it has been under his direction that the National Bureau has acquired a still greater reputation. It was chiefly under his direction that the Senate Committee investigated the history of prices and wages for fifty years, the report of which is one of the greatest of statistical documents. During this time, to our knowledge, Mr Wright has more than once been subjected to temptation by political influence. In every case he has promptly refused to permit any outside interference, whether of the administration or the opposition. He has ever been ready to hand in his resignation, and has done so, rather than be subject to any political influence. At the time he made this report his resignation was in the hands of Mr Roosevelt, he having accepted the presidency of Clark College, Worcester, Mass.

The suggestion that the report on wages and the cost of living may have been influenced by partizan bias has no foundation. Its absurdity is shown by the very nature of the report itself. All the data presented, down to the last few years, was taken from previous reports, and the most recent facts are taken from investigations made for the Eighteenth Annual Report of the National Labor Bureau, which is now in press, and for which the facts were collected before there was any idea of a special Bulletin. On the contrary, the Bureau had made an extensive investigation of wages and cost of living, bringing the facts down to date for its Eighteenth Annual Report, which suggested the wisdom of giving the results in a special bulletin. In view of these facts, to say the report shows partizan bias is to say that Carroll D. Wright's statistical work during the last thirty years is practically worthless.



Third. Our correspondent asks: "Has the Bureau demonstrated that the cost of living has declined within recent years? Opposed to its figures are the statistics monthly and yearly collected by Dun's Review, which seem to be prepared upon a broader and more scientific basis."

The Bureau does not pretend to have "demonstrated that the cost of living has declined within recent years." On the contrary, its figures show that, as compared with the average price of food for ten years previous to 1900 (1890-99), the prices in 1903 had risen 10.3 per cent.; that, as compared with the lowest year in that decade (1896), prices of food had risen 15.5 per cent.; but the report also shows that the rates of wages per hour in 1903 had risen 18.8 per cent., as compared with the lowest year (1894).

There is nothing in the figures of Dun's Review that conflicts with this. According to the index number table of Dun's Review (Jan. 1, 1903), the average prices of all products stood at \$101,587, and on August 1, 1904, they stood at \$97,227 showing a general fall of prices of more than 4 per cent. since Jan. 1, 1902.

Our correspondent then asks, "Is the Bulletin a higher authority than Dun's Review, or than the actual experience of the market-place?" Whether the Bulletin is a higher authority than Dun's Review can not be definitely answered, but either of them is a much higher authority than any individual experience in the market-place. Dun's Review and the Labor Department can not be compared except when they are investigating the same things. Dun's Review's figures are based upon the prices of some 365 articles, proportioned or "weighted" according to consumption, with a view to giving the closest approximation to a safe average; but this question of index number has been a matter of controversy for more than a century. There are many systems of weighting commodities according to consumption, and whether the London Economist, Jevans, Dun's Review, or



the Labor Department has the more scientific method nobody can tell. All that can be said is that the index number employed by the Labor Department is the most recent method and has had the benefit of all previous experience and the criticism of the most scientific statisticians.

When we come to consider the presentation of the subject by Chairman Cowherd of the Democratic Congressional Committee, all thought of scientific accuracy vanishes. That his statement and criticism were born of partizan bias is manifest in every paragraph. A more perfect instance of the absence of the spirit of scientific accuracy could not be found. He begins with the general impeachment of the honesty and fairness of Mr Wright's work, and then suggests that the commissioner should revise his figures so as not to make the showing too favorable to the Republican Party. Such a suggestion at once classifies Mr Cowherd as a mere politician, who is entirely out of place in any discussion that requires statistical accuracy or scientific integrity.

With Mr Cowherd it is manifestly a grievance that Mr Wright's statistics show that the country has been, and is prosperous. It is his purpose, as it is his political interest, to show that the country is going to the dogs, that industry is shrinking, profits are disappearing, wages are falling, and the general industrial and social condition of the people is growing worse. This would have been an excellent campaign card for Mr Cowherd and his party, though it would have been disastrous for the country. Mr Cowherd and his party are laboring under great disadvantage in needing national disaster to help their cause. If all the Democratic editors and chairmen of all the Democratic Committees and all their campaign documents and platforms should proclaim that during the last five or six years the industrial condition of this country has deteriorated, and that the condition of the laborers has gradually grown worse nobody would believe it. There is no corner of the country to which the in-



fluence of prosperity has not reached, nor could any amount of official statistics, convince the people that the nation had been prosperous while industrial decline was going on all around. For instance, in 1893-96 no amount of bulletins showing that wages were rising, and prosperity increasing would have had any effect. Everybody knew that that was not the case, while they did not have the statistics they had evidence of it in their every day experience. Those who did not experience this themselves saw it every day about them. Profits were made by no one, except perhaps a few importers, and wages were nowhere increased. Though prices were falling, forced idleness was increasing, and everybody knew that prosperity had vanished. Thousands of proclamations of the Wilsons and Clevelands to the contrary would have made no impression.

So it is today. Mr Wright's report on Wages and the Cost of Living accords with the general experience of the country. Assuredly, there has been a rise of prices, but it has been accompanied by all the other phases of general prosperity, chief among which are the advance in wages and increasing employment. If there were no changes whatever in the ratio of prices and wages, the mere change from a prevalence of enforced idleness to one of abundant employment would itself constitute prosperity. This has been accompanied by a tremendous expansion in business, in productive power, and in changes in prices and wages. Prices have risen, but wages have risen more. As a natural effect, following the flush of prosperity, prices are now settling down and wages are remaining up.

But Mr Cowherd wishes to have the people believe the conditions are just the reverse. He says:

The truth of the matter is there are 200,000 wage-earners today on a strike. They are on a strike either because the cost of living has reduced the purchasing power of the wages received, or because their wages have been reduced within the year.



Why does not Mr Cowherd furnish evidence that this is the "truth of the matter?" Nearly all the strikes within the last five years have been for recognition or increasing recognition of the unions, or for shorter hours, usually coupled with a demand for increasing wages. If Mr Cowherd was at all familiar with this subject, he would know that strikes for increasing wages are generally a sign of prosperity. It is only strikes against a reduction of wages that indicate declining business and depression. In other words, these strikes are mainly the laborers' method of getting an increased share of the prosperity of the country.

Mr Cowherd says: "It is assumed that the number of men now unemployed is 600,000." The Chairman of the Democratic Committee may have assumed this, but no such assumption has been made by any respectable statistician, nor is any reliable source of information responsible for such a statement.

In order to make out that Commissioner Wright was manufacturing statistics to suit the needs of the national Republican Committee, he says:

Colonel Wright hit upon the happy solution of abandoning wholesale prices as the basis of his figures, and resorting to retail prices selected by his agents from localities most suitable to the purpose in hand. . . . The Republicans were delighted. Field agents were sent out in all parts of the country, who understood their business, both as statisticians and politicians. They interviewed families and grocers, always using discretion in choosing localities. Thus a grocer who did a small business ten or twelve years ago in the suburbs of a city where he had no competition, probably got good prices then. He is now the leading grocer of the city and must sell close. Just the man for these experts.

It is difficult to imagine that such sorry stuff could come from even a Chairman of the Democratic Congressional Committee. On the face of it, such a statement discredits its author. Nobody who knows anything of Commissioner Wright and his methods of work, either in the Massachusetts or in the National Bureau, could read such a statement without having the utmost contempt for the author. As already



pointed out, all the investigations made by Mr Wright were made for the Eighteenth Annual Report of the Labor Bureau, and had no relation whatever to the campaign. Of the price-lists that have been published in the Massachusetts reports, in the National Bureau, and in the Senate Committee reports, which cover a period of thirty years, some have been on wholesale and others on retail prices, so that, in order to make comparisons with past years for the same things, it has been necessary to continue certain investigations in wholesale and certain others along retail lines; and the writer happens to know that as far as possible the quotations are made from the books of the same firm or firms in the same locality throughout the whole period of investigation. Of course it is absolutely impossible to do this in every instance, because firms disappear and new firms come in their place, but there never has been any important difference between the figures of Bradstreet's, the Journal of Commerce, Dun's Review, and the Labor Department whenever they are investigating the same thing. According to the index number table in the August 13 number of Dun's Review, which Mr Cowherd accepts as scientific, from January 1, 1902, to August 1, 1904, breadstuffs fell from \$20,002 to \$18,251; meats from \$9670 to \$8831; and dairy and garden products from \$15,248 to \$10,689. The total of all products fell from \$101,587 to \$97,227 or over 4 per cent. The prices of all kinds of iron and steel and other products are tending downward, and laborers are still striking for higher wages.

Mr Cowherd charges Mr Wright with selecting, for political purposes, many industries that have no protection. He says:

Colonel Wright selected his industries and occupations carefully. He paid no attention to whether an industry was protected or not, unless it was to keep away from the highly protected ones, for they usually pay smaller wages than are paid by the unprotected . . . Hence, out of the 3429 establishments selected for comparison, 1199, or



more than one-third, are in the building trades. Of the remainder, 1188 establishments were flour mills, bakeries, foundries and machine shops, planing mills, newspaper printing offices, marble and stone works, blacksmithing and horseshoeing shops and street and sewer works. All of these and many others are in the unprotected industries, and in many of them the strength of the unions has been developed in recent years, so that the rise in wages comes within the period covered. Not one-fourth of the establishments selected are in the protected industries.

This shows the utter ignorance of the Chairman of the Democratic Congressional Committee of the elementary principles of Protection. He talks as if only those industries directly affected by the tariff are benefited, whereas every intelligent Protectionist knows that the protected industries receive no more benefit from Protection than the unprotected, and often do not have as great prosperity. Consumption opens new regions, multiplies railways, and develops towns and cities. It is in this development of towns and cities and the increase of urban populations that the so-called unprotected industries have their rise and growth. These domestic industries that have no foreign competition are largely dependent upon the prosperity which the protection to the manufacturing industries makes possible. The great meat-packing interests in Chicago and the elevated railways and subway and surface railways in New York are as largely the result of Protection as is the development of the silk industry of Paterson, New Jersey, or the iron industry of Pennsylvania. These great domestic industries are born of the national progress that Free Trade would have made impossible.

It is unfortunate for Mr Cowherd that he can not present anything worthy of public acceptance to show that the last few years have not been really prosperous years, that employment has not been more abundant and more remunerative than during the previous period of 1893-97, when his party was responsible for public policy. The figures presented by Mr Wright, which the country and future generations will accept as the best available source of information,



show that, as compared with the average for 1890-99, wages have risen 3 per cent. more than prices; that the average hours of labor have declined 4.1 per cent. as compared with 1890; and that 34.3 per cent. more persons were employed, and 54.4 per cent. more money was paid in wages, in 1903 than in 1894. In the absence of all other evidence, this shows a substantial improvement in the industrial condition of the masses; and this is in accordance with, and confirmed by, every other source of information. The prosperity and expansion of business, the confidence and self-assertion of labor, the numerous strikes for increased wages, shorter hours and fuller recognition of labor, all confirm the truth of Colonel Wright's statistics, as does also the increased volume of domestic production and foreign trade.

Another fact that may be very disagreeable to Mr Cowherd is the great difference in wages in the same industries, here and abroad. A glance at the following table will show how much American laborers would lose if they were put on the European wage-level:

HOURS OF LABOR A WEEK IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES

Occupation.	United States.	Great Britain.	Germany.	France.	Belgium.
Blacksmith .....	56.65	53.67	59.90	60.19	.....
Boiler-maker .....	56.24	53.67	a60.00	61.50	60.00
Brick-layer .....	47.83	51.83	56.50	63.00	62.00
Carpenter .....	49.41	50.17	55.30	60.00	64.73
Compositor .....	49.81	50.00	b51.08	60.00	54.00
Hod-carrier .....	47.98	51.83	59.50	c63.91	.....
Iron-molders .....	56.80	53.67	.....	c60.00	60.00
General laborer .....	56.13	52.50	56.36	c60.00	63.00
Machinist .....	56.12	53.67	a60.00	61.50	.....
House-painter .....	48.89	51.00	56.25	c60.00	66.00
Plumber .....	48.97	49.17	56.68	54.00	60.00
Stone-cutter .....	48.67	50.17	b54.00	60.00	65.00
Stone-mason .....	49.54	50.17	56.50	c66.00	62.00

a. Boiler-makers and machinists in Berlin only.

b. Compositors and stone-cutters in Nürnberg only.

c. Hod-carriers, iron-molders, laborers, plumbers, and stone-masons in Paris only.



## WAGES PER HOUR IN CENTS IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES

Occupation.	United States.	Great Britain.	Germany.	France.	Belgium.
Blacksmith .....	.296	.174	.123	.162	.....
Boiler-maker .....	.284	.171	a. 112	.145	.075
Brick-layer .....	.547	.206	.132	.132	.084
Carpenter .....	.359	.202	.130	.154	.071
Compositor .....	.446	.179	b. 141	.130	.095
Hod-carrier .....	.286	.125	.084	c. 096	.....
Iron-molder .....	.303	.178	.....	c. 131	.069
General laborer .....	.167	.101	.079	c. 096	.054
Machinist .....	.270	.167	a. 131	.132	.....
House-painter .....	.345	.177	.119	.125	.066
Plumber .....	.437	.202	.114	c. 150	.078
Stone-cutter .....	.422	.199	b. 117	.144	.068
Stone-mason .....	.448	.207	.132	c. 144	.084

a. Boiler-makers and machinists in Berlin only.

b. Compositors and stone-cutters in Nürnberg only.

c. Hod-carriers, iron-molders, laborers, plumbers, and stone-masons in Paris only.

Men of Mr Cowherd's school deny, of course, that the tariff has anything to do with increasing wages; but the fact remains that, under a protective régime, and through the increasing diversification of industry and continued financial prosperity, American wages are nearly double in most industries, and more than double in many industries the wages of European countries.



## THE LABOR VOTE AND WHAT CONTROLS IT

D. L. CEASE, EDITOR RAILROAD TRAINMEN'S JOURNAL

UNDER our democratic form of government, the masses naturally must cast the ballot. As the working class constitutes the greatest percentage of the population, the workingman as a voter is an absolute necessity to party success. Perfectly understanding this phase of the question, political leaders, as a matter of policy, endeavor so to prepare their party platforms as to offer something particularly alluring to the masses. But political platforms are not taken as seriously as they used to be taken, and do not count as much in election results as the political managers would have us believe.

It is a time worn principle that a party must have a platform, and, in preparing it, every care is taken to include in it sufficient labor planks to please the people and to furnish a basis for campaign oratory. The fact that not a single so-called labor plank has ever found its way into effective legislative enactment thus far has not discouraged the platform builders. It is, therefore, fair to conclude that the majority of aggressive planks that find their way into political platforms are born in a spirit of catering to popular opinion, as it is understood to be held by the working classes.

I call to mind the State platform adopted by one of the parties that called for governmental ownership of the coal mines. Shortly afterward a State convention of the opposite party emphatically demanded legislation to regulate and manage the combinations of capital. A national convention declared in favor of insurance for the working people. National convention platforms have declared against



government by injunction and the absorption of business by the trusts. They have promised remedial legislation for every evil, real or fancied. In fact, it has been the principal business of all parties to offer something to catch public opinion, and change the voting sentiment in favor of the party offering it.

To those who stop to think of the promises made in party platforms, and who remember how indifferently they have been kept, the party platform does not offer much of an inducement. A great number of our voters do not know the difference between one platform and another, and in casting their ballots lend their prejudices to their performances. The truth of the matter is that, with the money question out of the campaign, and the tariff considered not a serious issue, the two great parties will practically work along the same lines.

With all due regard for the influence of party argument, I believe that, as a rule, State and national elections depend very largely upon the wage-earning and purchasing capabilities of the majority of those who vote.

Political campaign capital, principally, is in the promises made to the wage-workers for something as good, or better, for each of them, and they contrast present with past conditions and are governed very largely by the contrast. The party out of power always promises better times, if it is placed in power. The administration calls attention to the improved conditions as compared with the time when it came into power. If it happens, however, that times are not so good, very little is said regarding the matter, and the campaign is devoted largely to questions of state that are so far beyond the conception of the average voter that he can not grasp the situation and wonders what it is all about. If he is not an irreclaimable partizan, he is very much in doubt, and the assurance of the party out of power that it has some-



thing better will generally find in him a willing convert—for who does not like a 'sure thing?' Nor does it require much argument to start a man after it.

The arguments presented during political campaigns do not serve any particular purpose in affecting the vote, aside from calling attention to working and living conditions, and promising something better. When times are good, the disposition is to leave well enough alone. When times are not so good, the tendency is to secure better times by a change of administration.

To return to past campaign promises, as set forth in party platforms, and to show their absolute insincerity, I shall refer to a few of the questions that have been presented, among other 'burning' issues, by State and national conventions. For a number of years, the regulation of the trusts has been a prominent issue with both parties. It remained for the present Administration to make an effective use of the law, which it did in the Northern Securities case. Despite the decision of the United State Supreme Court, the expected change, in many particulars, in the management and operation of railway properties involved has not taken place. There is nothing, we know, that can in anywise prevent these companies from working together if they so elect, in which case competition will not interfere with the regulation of tariffs.

The very close decision of the United States Supreme Court seems to leave the future very much in doubt. Justice Holmes said: "There is a natural feeling that somewhere, or somehow or other, the statute meant to strike out combinations great enough to cause just anxiety on the part of those who love their country more than money, while it viewed little ones with just indifference. This notion, it may be said, somehow breathes from the pores of the act, although it seems to be contradicted in every way by the



words in detail, and it has occurred to me that it might be that, when a combination reached a certain size, it might have attributed to it more of the character of a monopoly merely by virtue of its size than would be attributed to a smaller one."

The expression of the Justice appears to meet the popular idea, and we find it expressed in a State platform, concerning the regulation of trusts as those "that oppress the people and stifle healthy industrial competition." This naturally means that each individual case will be one for discussion by the Supreme Court, and it does not give any guarantee as to what will be done. If the decisions are to be made on strictly partizan lines, as the Northern Securities case unquestionably was, the control of the trust question is altogether problematic. But the question of importance is, In what way will the people benefit by the Merger decision? True, it will be something to offer to prove that the party in power is standing by its platform promises, and is ready to take up the cudgel against the other trusts; but what does it guarantee? The party seeking to control the government is just as emphatic in its declaration as to the regulation of capitalistic combinations. The average citizen who continues to pay advanced prices to the coal, oil, beef, and other trusts that control his necessities, wonders what there is in it for him; for, despite all of the fine talk, he can not see where anything startling has been done for the protection of his personal pocketbook, and that to him is the question of importance. So far as he can see, the interference of the government with the trusts has not benefited him in the least.

The Anti-conspiracy law was another prominent feature of a party platform, and what became of it? The Congressmen, whose party demanded that government by injunction be ended, have been as quiet as the dead through the succeeding Congressional sessions that have had the bill under



consideration. There have been no thunderous demands made by them in Congress, although the echoes that were started four years ago during the campaign can still be heard.

Insurance for working men who had become incapacitated was another party platform plank. A few foreign nations have a form of labor insurance to which both the employer and the employe contribute. When the employe is incapacitated by age, disability, or disease, he receives about enough to keep him from starvation. The idea seemed to be a good one for campaign purposes, and forthwith it became a party plank, although its author afterward confessed that he had not the remotest idea of what it really meant.

Arbitration, voluntary and otherwise, has been presented in platforms; but when the labor organizations worked earnestly for such a law, it was so distorted by the lobbyists and members of Congress, that when it finally passed it was placed with many other laws that properly belong in the legislative cemetery; it was dead.

The political orators always held out strongly for good wages, short hours, fair treatment, and all of those things that make men glad when they hear them promised. Congress was urged to pass an eight-hour work-day law to apply only to employees on government contracts. This law naturally met the opposition of the employers, although the reasons for their objections were only their prejudice against a shorter work-day. If all contractors were compelled to make their contracts on the same working-day basis, there could not be injustice to any of them. The truth of the matter is that the employers feared the employes who were not on government work would also demand the eight-hour day. This was a disturbing factor to many employers who are now in position to impose long hours upon their laborers. The employer did not mention this fact as a reason for his



objection. He raved and swore, and called the laborers anarchists, and succeeded in having the bill referred to the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, who will not report until after the election. In the meantime the campaign orator and the candidate can disclaim any dereliction of duty, because the Congress had no opportunity to vote, and can say: "Wait until it comes up again, and see what I will do."

The State convention that passed resolutions in favor of the ownership and operation of the coal mines by the government was controlled by one of the ablest lawyers in the country. He knew the resolutions did not mean a single practical thing; but the coal strike was on, coal prices were high, and the sentiment was met with favor and some political sympathy. I believe the State convention that declaimed against the trusts did not know what its drastic resolutions meant. If it did, it was plainly insincere, and sought to reach the soft side of public sentiment.

Experience gained in political affairs leads to the unalterable belief that the men who offer the greatest inducements in the way of popular legislation are generally the worst opponents of those measures when they get before a legislative body. Party platform promises have been offered until they are worn out, and now, regardless of what either party offers, or of how pretentious its platform may be with promising generalities, the average laborer will pay little attention to any of them. It is reasonable to expect, however, that his vote will depend largely upon his earning and purchasing capacity prior to the time of the coming election. His sentiments and politics are in his home and dinner-pail. If his home is comfortable and his dinner-pail well filled, he will not see much reason for a change of political masters; but if he is not as well off as he has been, why—"Is not the party in power responsible? Did it not take him from business depression, and plant him on the rock of pros-



perity, and fill his dinner-pail? If it is empty, is it not the fault of that same party? If it can bring sunshine, is it not responsible also for the rain?" If times are bad, the working-man invariably reasons that a change must make them better, and he votes for that change with the charming inconsistency that has always marked his career as an intelligent voter.

If I were asked if the failure to enact reform or remedial legislation will effect the vote of the working-man in this campaign, I should say, "I believe it will not." Each measure in question was, in its way, of a special nature. Directly, it would have benefited those who were behind it, and, indirectly, all others who were affected by the earning capacity of the promoters. The number directly affected is comparatively so small, and so few of the others know anything about the matter, that not enough are interested to make much difference in the election results. Embarrassing legislative propositions have been referred to special committees. They are thus out of the way as argument, and can not be a part, unless in a promissory way, of campaign oratory. There is not enough direct interest in any one question to make it, as a whole, a formidable one at this time.

In referring to the labor vote, it is very often understood to be an organized movement. This is an error. We find in the labor political movement, and supposedly representing it, the working-men's clubs and the Socialists. These two forms of organization represent about all there is to the organized labor movement in politics. The remainder is without such affiliation, and is governed by whatever directly affects each person. The labor organization political club, or what stands for it, does not amount to much. It is generally a shadowy affair, out for office for a few of the promoters, and a share of the 'coin' for the remainder. The Socialist movement represents the serious vote, and it has



effected a tangible combination. Whether it is right or wrong it is no part of this article to assert; but the fact is that it does offer the nucleus around which the labor movement in politics must inevitably gather, if capitalistic lobbyists continue to interfere with such legislation as labor may request for the betterment of all the people. While in the past the vote has swung from one of the great parties to the other, it does not follow that it will continue to swing so forever. Patience may become exhausted, and the pendulum may stop between the two parties. If it does, the Socialist movement will naturally profit by it.

To sum up the labor situation as it applies to politics at this time, it is safe to affirm that there is no organization that offers substantial strength for or against either party. But there is the workman voter who knows the exact condition of his wage-earning capacity, and who can easily remember what it was. His personal affairs are the basis for his political judgment, and the only lesson he has learned in politics is that the party in power is responsible for the times. It sounds nonsensical to the highly intelligent reader, who knows, or thinks he knows, what conditions control business; but the man who works for his living and depends on campaign oratory for his political and social education believes as much as he thinks affects him personally, and usually votes accordingly.



## WRITING FOR THE MAGAZINES

### PATHS THAT MAY LEAD THE YOUNG ASPIRANT TO SUCCESS

DAY ALLEN WILLEY

TO REACH an intelligent conclusion as to the magazines of today and those who make them it is well to ask ourselves what the word 'magazine' means. The standard encyclopedias define it as a periodical publication designed to furnish information and entertainment; but this excludes the newspaper, on the one hand, and the reviews, almanacs, and the so-called year-books on the other.

Perhaps the most important part of the definition is the reference to 'information.' While a sharp line is drawn between the magazine and the newspaper, their similarity as gatherers of information is far more marked than is supposed by the casual observer. In this respect it is somewhat remarkable that the pioneer creators of the periodical apparently had the same idea. That venerable publication, the *Journal des Savants*, reputed to be the oldest of this interesting family, was issued by Mezeray "to make known what was happening." And while this text may not be seen in the modern editorial sanctum of the daily, weekly, or monthly, it is observed today perhaps as conscientiously as by the famous Italian who conceived it. Consequently, the success obtained by one who uses pen and pencil is due as much to his perception of what is happening, as to the manner in which he prepares his description of or comment on events.

The word 'happening' can, however, be dissected into various elements, as will be noted later. It may be said here



that many a literary reputation has been won by chancing to realize the full value, from an editor's point of view, of a piece of information, and presenting it in language suitable to reveal its full import. It is not the purpose to dwell upon this, but to discover what opportunity there may be for furnishing material to the periodicals of today. To do this we must first get a clearer idea of the contents of the average magazine.

Referring again to the *Journal*, which made known the happenings in medieval Italy, then as now we note a similarity between literature and music. The application of the news idea resembles that of the fugue of the composer. To the music lover there is nothing more wonderful in the masterpieces of Haydn and Handel than the manner in which they have woven a half dozen notes into sonatas and nocturnes. Intricate as may be the composition, these notes have such an individuality that from prelude to postlude they are always distinct. In periodical literature the news idea or timeliness often appears in an unexpected way. Fiction is a notable illustration. The demand for the short-story has increased to such an extent that the reader may now have his choice of perhaps a half dozen, set between the 'heavier' literary productions. Suppose it is the January issue. He expects to find the heroes on skis in Norway, on snow-shoes in Alaska, or speeding about Central Park in their sleighs; while the heroine is frequently rescued from the snow drift, or, standing half frozen at her father's door, pleads for his forgiveness. Then the more cheering picture is presented of the blazing fire on the hearth and the pipe and punch bowl at one's elbow, enhanced by contrast with the raging storm without. Take up the June number: its stories have a flavor of the early summer flowers and foliage. Hero and heroine have discarded their overcoats and furs and appear in duck and muslin with golf club and racket.



Throughout the summer, the outdoor spirit prevails in the short stories, and, in some instances, the shrewd editor runs the serial so that the incident of the plot will fit the season. Great events that leave a more than fleeting impression on the public are invariably followed by appropriate fiction. The destruction of the Maine gave one author a cue to write a novel which depended for much of its interest on this occurrence and which ran through several numbers of one of the best known publications.

To analyze the various ways in which the news feature is connected with the literature of fact would require far more space than can be devoted to it in this article. So close is the connection that, broadly speaking, the average editor and copy reader seem to consider this point one of the most essential in determining the availability of a manuscript. Again we may turn to our library and examine the files of this or that magazine in search of proof. Suppose we select one of the higher priced magazines. With it as with the ten-cent class, the short-story fiction is adapted to the season. A careful study of each article will generally disclose the fact that it has some association with personages or occurrences of broad and deep public interest. The association may not be close, but it exists. The first article is of a scientific nature. An astronomer, perhaps, discusses a comet or a new fixed star of which the world has been talking, but of which the world knows little save from the incomplete and often inaccurate newspaper accounts. Therefore an article, which in nine cases out of ten would be such "dry" reading as to be rejected, is published with many terms so unfamiliar to the average reader that only with the aid of the dictionary can he get an intelligent conception of it. A recent illustration was given in connection with radium. While the scientific publications exploited it as a matter of course, it is doubtful if any editor of the purely literary



magazine was able to resist the temptation of inserting something relative to it. In some instances an attempt was made to avoid the technical feature by dwelling on the personality and home life of M. and Mme. Curie.

But let us turn over the pages. Here are facsimile letters of George Washington. They are somewhat difficult to decipher, and, after puzzling them out, we find they relate to very commonplace things. Why not offer your letters to the editor to be published? The Washington letters were reproduced only because of the fame of the author and have never before appeared in print—a fact that is announced in bold black type. The editorial note gives the cue. To take a slang term from the vocabulary of the daily newspaper, the publisher has a 'scoop' on his rivals.

A paradoxical definition of this kind of literary material is 'old news.' It embraces such a wide variety of material that it has formed a richly productive field for the makers of text and illustration. Since the beginning of the reminiscent era in the United States old news has formed such an acceptable theme that in recent years private and public libraries, historic homes, and other regions of possible literary 'finds' have been ransacked for treasure. Camera and pencil have reproduced portraits, furniture, and draperies, even dress and articles of the toilet, to illustrate the follies and foibles as well as the worthier traits of the famous ones of yesterday. So diligent have been the seekers that the supply of this material is rapidly decreasing; and its market value in the editorial office has risen accordingly.

The editor who endeavors to cater to the greatest number likewise includes description of persons and places in his schedule of subjects, and here the news element is most conspicuous. While shelf and drawer are being searched for unpublished chapters of history, writers and artists with lens and brush, are going into out of the way corners of the



globe in quest of people and things unknown or but little known. Some mountain republic, thousands of feet above the rest of us, is invaded by an expedition fitted out by the enterprising publisher. Its head is interviewed and photographed, its cathedrals and castles reproduced in colors. Then back to the sanctum hurry the invaders to prepare their work for the printer and engraver before some competitor steals a march by making public the same topic in advance of them. Perhaps the neighbor of Andorra or San Marino may be far more interesting in scenery, history, and people; but in its case the news idea is lacking. It is the new, the unknown, that is craved by the mental taste—at least so think its purveyors.

Personality and magazine literature are also closely connected, but the bane of the average editor is biography. Rarely is the sketch of one's life published—for itself. The person must be associated with something that brings him prominently into the public gaze. Death, perhaps, has contributed the news element that gives him a renewed interest to the reader. Sketches of personality can not be considered among the features deemed essential by the editor of the popular magazine, and we may glance through a year's volume without finding one of importance; but personality posing with the pen and pencil makes a combination that is well nigh irresistible. We have referred to the discussion of a scientific topic by some writer of note. This chapter may cost the publisher four or five times as much as an article prepared by another writer able to present the subject as accurately and interestingly; but he prefers to pay the savant more because of the advertizement afforded by his name.

At this point it is worth while to touch on the 'big name,' to use another slang term, in connection with the authorship of articles. Unquestionably, it has become a fad which may result in seriously affecting the standard of literature if it



has not already produced such a result. Nowadays the publisher's prospectus contains the name of the author in large type and the title of the book or article in small type, leaving the reader to infer that the editor considers the writer of more importance than his work. Else why the distinction? Perhaps the reader is right in his conclusions, for it can be asserted without successful contradiction that many an article is published over the name of some one of special fame in the literary world, far inferior, not only in style but in accuracy, to the effort of the writer who may not be so well known. It is only necessary to compare the efforts of several magazine contributors on some subject in the public mind and on which articles are published simultaneously, to prove this statement. Many an article has been accepted because the author realized it was on a topic of broad and timely interest—and the editor could not get any one of more prominence to write upon it.

As an illustration of what a name means to some editors, the writer of this article may be pardoned for interjecting a little personal experience. A few months ago a clergyman of one of the leading denominations came prominently before the public by reason of his connection with a series of events. The editor of a well known publication of New York telegraphed to the writer as follows: "Can you get ——— to furnish an article? Even 500 words on any subject will do." Had the church notable given his views on the latest style in spring hats or the best way to cook a steak, it would probably have been printed. And this is not a 'yellow journal' or ordinary newspaper but a high class magazine.

In another instance the writer offered an article to an editorial friend also in the metropolis, with whom he has such relations that the latter always gives the real reason for accepting or declining a manuscript. In this case it came back with the following note:



"This subject is very well treated and the photographs are of a superior quality, but I have another by —— whom you know is an authority on the subject. Frankly speaking, it is not as good as yours, but the name carries much with it. Remembering your wide experience as a contributor, I know you will not be offended at our decision."

The opportunity to earn a hundred-dollar check by an hour of dictation to one's secretary, or five hundred dollars for preparation of an article that may require but two or three days is indeed tempting. It is not strange that men eminent in science, politics, business, and finance should be induced to hurried efforts in response to telegraphic offers of this kind. To the man of affairs, time is one of the most precious commodities. Hence it is that so much literature of doubtful quality finds its way into what are considered standard publications, the inferiority appearing more prominent when the signature accompanying it is noted. The tendency of authors, who have made a name, to produce quantity rather than quality, is a criticism that is being too frequently made in the world of letters, though it possibly applies more to books than to briefer efforts.

But to return to the main thread of the discussion. What encouragement has the young man, or young woman who is trying to win a place in the world of letters? The answer is—much. The author however must expect to be sorely tried. If he expects that all of his contributions will be read before being passed upon, he will be in error. Recently an argument on this question was presented in one of the most widely circulated periodicals, in which this sentence occurred: "Every manuscript submitted is examined and never a one is returned unconsidered." The "publisher's reader" who wrote this article may have believed what he said, but there is plenty of evidence to show that many a manuscript



is rejected after reading but two or three pages. It is doubtful if half of those rejected in a year in American editorial rooms are read from beginning to end. The critics do not need to do so. They estimate their value from the portions examined, and time is precious. The unknown writer must expect to have his offering held months before being passed upon, and his faith in human nature may be further shaken by long delays in payment. One of the prominent publications stamped as 'popular' has a reputation for not remunerating its contributors until forced to do so by the collector or by a lawsuit.

Such is the reverse side of the picture; but the author finds, in the end, that the average editor usually estimates accurately the value of what he wants, and tries to be as impartial as possible, considering the difficulties under which he labors. But the most encouraging thing to the struggling author is the news element to which we have been forced to give such prominence. If a subject is of such importance that it forces itself upon the magazines, here is his opportunity to get a start on the upward way by describing it to the best of his ability. All the periodicals can not have their articles prepared by writers with names, and the ones thus unsuccessful are obliged to accept offerings from less famous contributors, so if one has the perception to estimate the value of this or that topic he is very apt to be rewarded for his labor, provided, of course, he is equipped to perform his work in a satisfactory manner. As we have said, he must be properly qualified, but what are the qualifications? Versatility is one of the most essential. Ability to absorb mentally the salient points of a subject and reproduce them correctly, concisely, yet in an interesting style is another requisite, but to obtain it the mind must be trained until it becomes a camera, photographing the features of the subject, and the more faithful this mental photograph, the more



valuable will be the article of which it is the creator, for the standard of most literature, even fiction, can be determined by its truthfulness. The key to the success of such novelists as Dickens, Kipling, and Hugo is their ability to reproduce the scenes photographed by the wonderful camera of their brain.

At once the vocation of the newspaper reporter will suggest itself as an aid in the development of the author. It is not necessary to cite the many noted literators who began their career with pad and pencil. Even in the smaller cities the young man who spends five or six years in executing the assignments of the city editor broadens mentally to a remarkable degree, unless he is more than usually deficient in intelligence, and in such instances he seldom remains long on the staff. The reporter's room is a training school for the mind which is perhaps unexcelled. Those who remain in it long enough, become familiar with about every phase of human activity. Called upon to write descriptions of a wedding, a crime and to criticize a new drama—all perhaps in one day—it is not strange that many of them acquire a high degree of versatility in description, and after a time instinctively estimate the value of a topic from the viewpoint of the reader. The value of the college course, if it is especially adapted to the needs of the author, must not be underestimated, but compared with the training one receives in the field of daily journalism, the points are decidedly in favor of the latter.

In literature as in other professions, the tendency to specialize has been increasing. We have the war-correspondents, the political writers, commercial writers, men whose forte is their knowledge of military and naval organization. A half dozen other specialties might be named, but none of them is surrounded by impossible barriers. Easy is it for a specialist to get into a rut. Success in his chosen



line causes him to give his effort less thought and attention. Then some new comer chances to treat one of his subjects in a more attractive and original manner with the result that it is accepted. This is not an isolated occurrence. It is also true in connection with scientific literature.

Thus far, we have made no reference to periodicals devoted to technical articles. Strange as it may seem, here is another field of effort into which the general writer may enter, if he has taken advantage of his earlier experience with the daily press, or prepared himself otherwise. While the articles on the progress in electric and other power, mechanical invention and science in general, include many so exhaustive that they can only be prepared by those who have devoted years of study to the subject to be discussed, material for the layman is also desired—descriptions that must be correct yet couched in language that can be understood without the aid of a dictionary. In his experience, the average reporter often comes in contact with such topics, and can so familiarize himself with technical description that he can contribute an important quota to the scientific and other class journals. He may have another advantage over the more expert or experienced writers, for frequently their expositions contain so many foreign derivatives and other words coined for shop and laboratory as to be unintelligible to the average reader. Many an account of some new apparatus or process can be prepared by the general writer in a manner to interest far more readers, than by one who may be much more conversant with the subject, because his vocabulary is not so limited and he has the ability to 'dress' the article in attractive language. The files of the technical press afford ample proof of this.



## HOW COLONIES ARE GOVERNED

### THE ADMINISTRATION OF GREAT BRITAIN'S CROWN COLONIES

STEPHEN PIERCE DUGGAN, PH. D.

THE CHIEF problem of colonial government is the distribution of governmental power, i. e., the determination of what powers shall be retained by the mother country and what shall be granted to the colonies. If the latter were all settlement colonies the problem would be simple, for in the British system, the principle of action that has been evolved is that self-government shall be granted to a settlement colony as soon as the number of its inhabitants justify such action. But in the case of a colony whose population consists of a large mass of an inferior or unpolitical race upon which has been superimposed a small minority of white settlers, the policy of self-government is evidently an impracticable one. When the government of such a colony has been placed in the hands of the entire population, e. g., in the French West Indies, it has resulted in the exclusion of the whites from all political control, their gradual withdrawal from the colony and the deterioration of the latter in both industrial and social conditions. And where the government of such a colony has been put into the hands of the foreign minority as in the case of the French in Algiers, that government has almost invariably been run for the benefit of that minority at the expense of the native majority. The peculiar genius of the British for colonial government is shown in the skilful manner in which they have avoided either alternative in the government of such colonies. The home authorities retain in their own hands the actual administration of the colonial government but give opportunity for



the expression of opinion to both the native majority and the alien minority. The distinction between crown and self-governing colonies, therefore, is in reality founded upon physical conditions. The benevolent paternalism of the crown colony flourishes in tropical or sub-tropical regions where the white man does not multiply. The representative institutions of self-government are found in temperate regions where he can attain a numerical superiority.

The British, unlike the French, have never granted the colonies the right to send representatives to the home parliament nor placed the suffrage upon a manhood basis. They have taken the stand that an efficient administration is the first consideration in a Crown colony and that the turmoil produced by party politics is disorganizing to native societies. We find, therefore, that with the single exception of Malta, elected assemblies are found only in Crown colonies which have inherited them from an earlier period, viz., in the West Indies and Guiana, and the tendency during the period of Imperialism which commenced about 1884 has been to abolish them even in those colonies. Jamaica which lost its elective assembly in 1866 had it restored in 1883, only with the proviso that the elected members should be in a minority, and the elected assemblies of Antigua and Dominica were suppressed in 1898. The West Indies are usually in need of financial assistance from the Imperial government, and Mr. Chamberlain took the position that when the home government grants money to a colony it must also control the ways in which the money shall be spent. There has been great dissatisfaction in Jamaica and Trinidad over the loss of local control but there is no likelihood of any change being made by the home government.

The governmental organization of a Crown colony usually consists of a Governor, an Executive Council, and a Legislative Council, but of these three elements the Governor is



by far the most important. He is always a well-paid man of wide colonial experience who is given practically supreme control over his colony. It is the British policy to allow a colonial governor to remain sufficiently long in one place to become thoroughly familiar with its needs and then to permit him unrestricted action in supplying those needs. Few positions in the political world offer such opportunities to a man of genius as the governorship of a British Crown colony. He can determine to a great extent the line of development which his colony shall take, as he is practically legislature and executive. Where there is no legislative assembly, he legislates by ordinance, and where there is one he has the final determination of measures through his veto. He often has also the appointment and dismissal of the civil servants, the control of the military forces, and the disbursement of colonial moneys. And the tone which he can give to the life of the colony through his social position has often been of great value in strengthening the bond with the mother country. The Executive Council usually consists of the appointed officials who carry on the administration and assist the Governor with advice as to its conduct. The Legislative Council is composed either wholly of appointed members or partly of appointed and partly of elected; but the elected members are more often the representatives of interests than of numbers and are generally in a minority. Where elected by the people, there is always a property qualification just beyond the reach of the mass, e. g., in Guiana there are but 3,000 electors out of a population of 300,000. But they are usually elected by Chambers of Commerce, though race and religious interests are sometimes represented, e. g., in Hong Kong two members of the Council are always Chinamen, in Cyprus,\* three members of the assembly are always Muham-

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\*Cyprus, though under the control of the Foreign instead of the Colonial office, is administered in the same manner as a Crown colony.



madans. The Legislative Council assists the Governor with suggestions as to the nature of the measures to be adopted but it is ordinarily a purely advisory body and the Governor is not compelled to adopt its suggestions. It is generally found, however, that the Governor and his Legislative Council are in harmony and that the former values the advice of the latter.

In no subject has the value of Imperial control been better shown than in the manner in which the labor problem has been solved and also that of the treatment of the natives. Except where they are purely commercial depots as in the case of Hong Kong and Singapore, or are held to control lines of communication as Gibraltar and Cyprus, the Crown colonies are usually exploitation colonies in which the resources are exploited by the European settlers. That the rights of the native majority under such conditions receive scant treatment from the white minority, was shown in Natal where before responsible government was granted the representatives of the latter frequently made suggestions of extreme severity with regard to the former. And the difference between the treatment of imported coolies in a self-governing colony, e.g., Queensland where it was characterized by cruelty and neglect, and that in a Crown colony such as Guiana certainly redounds to the credit of Imperial control. In the Crown colonies the government supervises the contracts of the coolies, determines the accommodations *en route*, allots the coolies to the various planters when they arrive, decides the wages they shall receive, regulates the food they shall eat and the houses they shall inhabit, specifies the hospital accommodations, and provides for their return to their native land or their settlement in the colony when their term has expired. The coolies in the British colonies consist almost entirely of low-caste natives of India, and the system is not only a benefit to the colonial planter who is thereby provided



with a plentiful and regular supply of labor but also to the Indian coolie who lives better and is treated better than he would be at home, where in all probability he would be on the verge of starvation. The East Indians in Guiana number 100,000; in Trinidad, 80,000; in Jamaica, 15,000; in Mauritius, 210,000 out of a total population of 370,000. But in Mauritius, the East Indians are by no means all coolies. Thousands are landowners, merchants, and tradesmen. In fact, Mauritius is rapidly becoming a Hindu community.

Colonial Federation has been attempted but once among the Crown colonies and then with unsatisfactory results. The success of confederation in Canada led some English statesmen to believe that as the West Indies are very much alike in their populations and industrial pursuits, the same policy might be applied to them with profit. Accordingly in 1871, the smaller islands of the West Indies were formed into two groups, the Leeward Islands and the Windward Islands. The former group has a central governor and legislature, but each island retains its separate council and assembly. Success in the case of the Windward Islands was prevented by the refusal to join on the part of Barbados the most vigorous and prosperous of the group. The fact is that the West Indian islands have much closer connections with the mother country than with each other and if colonial confederation comes at all, it will probably be with Canada whose statesmen are anxious for it. Imperial control is of undoubted value to a large number of the British Crown colonies. It has transformed HongKong from a barren rock to one of the most important marts of the world. It has enabled unfriendly races to live in peace and comfort in Ceylon and the Straits settlements. It has finally brought prosperity to Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast. But the Imperial bond is of doubtful value to the West Indies. Their natural market is with the United States with which two-



thirds of their trade is carried on, but Imperial control prevents their making profitable reciprocity treaties with that country. And despite its general success the Crown colony system has been subjected to severe criticism when it is applied to territories where there is a large native population. Administered as a Crown colony is by officials from the mother country there is always the danger of a lack of sympathy for native customs and ideals, and of a desire to extend to the natives by law the morals and manners of another civilization for which there is no historic foundation. It was an unfriendly attitude toward native methods of landholding and taxation that produced the expensive Ashantee war of 1896. And the hut tax introduced by the colonial government of Sierra Leone which brought about that trouble was levied to help defray the great cost of the colonial government. This indicates another defect of the Crown colony system, viz., its expensiveness. And expensiveness will be an element of the system as long as measures of government are to be carried out by British officials. But administrative measures must be carried out by British officials whenever the natives are not allowed to govern themselves according to their own laws and customs and under their own leaders. This is accomplished admirably in the British Protectorates, e. g., in the Federated Malay States, but it is impossible under the comparative inflexibility of the Crown Colony system. That system is well adapted only for military colonies and for places where the native institutions do not lend themselves readily to the purposes of government.



## MODERN IDEALS OF FRIENDSHIP

ANNA McCLURE SHOLL

THE POETICAL genius of an age rarely limits its expression to works of art, but seeks additional media in the forms of social or political life. Thus it is that an institution or a prevalent custom may index the romantic spirit as truthfully as an epic of the period, its songs or its sonnets. Chivalry formed one body for a flame of poetic passion, of which the romances of the Grail formed another. The spirit of medieval Europe, being mystic, seized upon the social relation which could fittingly set forth the cravings of mysticism, its unsatisfied and visionary state: the relation of a knight to his unattainable lady.

During the age of Greek supremacy poetry sought its social expression in the friendships of men, all that the Greek knew of romance being the chivalrous love of companions in battle, or in the vicissitudes of political life. Achilles and Patroclus were the leaders of a long procession of friends walking in a light of poetic feeling, which, breaking first through the mists of heroic tradition, illumined the short day of Grecian conquest, until it was absorbed in the gorgeous and melancholy sunset of the national honor. But the true measure of an institution, as of an individual, is its noblest hour. Greek friendship at its noblest was not only a bond of conquering heroes winning from each other stimulus to brave deeds in war, but of great souls guiding their way by the heart's light to those high regions of philosophy where reason and ecstasy become one. Such was Plato's ideal of the uses of friendship, an ideal, though exalted, finding confirmation in his nation's life and genius; if not in the experience of grayer ages.



Of these two social embodiments of the poetic or romantic spirit, neither in its original character survived the age which produced it. The body perished, but the spirit, because partaking of the universal, lived on, touching other centuries with fugitive gleams of gold. Medieval chivalry leavened later societies, unbounded by feudal towers and unhaunted by visions of martial sainthood. Greek chivalry found egress through the sweet and troubled soul of the youthfulest Shakspeare, outpoured in the sonnets; through Michelangelo's titantic, yet wistful spirit meek in the presence of the beloved; and a more peaceful channel in the friendship of Montaigne for Etienne de la Boetie.

But these are isolated, remarkable examples, belonging to times only relatively modern, and do not represent the modern ideals of friendship—if, indeed, ideals of friendship, concretely expressed, may be found at all in present-day society.

Records of such ideals may be traced brokenly through personal observation, and with clearer outline in the literature of an age. As personal observation, being limited and biased by the subjective element is, of necessity, faulty and untrustworthy a surer source of information is furnished by poetry, fiction and philosophy.

Does modern literature, as represented in these three divisions throw light on modern ideals of friendship?

The first glance over this field which could only be partially covered in a volume, pre-disposes the searcher for records of friendships not barren of poetic elements, to believe that no definite ideal concerning this noble relationship has been formed by a commercial age. At least, if the ideal be definite it is not original, flowering spontaneously from a widespread emotion, but has the character of a jeweled legacy. If it possess vitality at all, it is rather the slow-creeping life of tradition than the over-flowing life of inspiration.



The whole of the nineteenth century offers but one great monument to friendship, the 'In Memoriam' of Tennyson. The ideal of friendship embodied in its stately and mournful measures is, perhaps, more nearly Plato's than any which the intervening centuries offer, since both in life and death the beloved was an inspiration to noble living and to the stern, yet bracing exercises of philosophic thought.

And what delights can equal those  
That stir the spirit's inner deeps  
When one that loves but knows not reaps,  
A truth from one that loves and knows?

Yet Tennyson's philosophy brought "like Alcestis from the grave" is so filled with modern melancholy and disillusioned speculation that his ideal of friendship is neither triumphant nor buoyant. It questions often, and rarely ventures an answer.

Yet oft when sundown skirts the moor,  
An inner trouble I behold,  
A spectral doubt which makes me cold,  
That I shall be thy mate no more.

The pain of his groping, one with the pain of his century, finds its only alleviation, its only light in the certainty of his emotion.

I loved thee, Spirit, and love, nor can  
The soul of Shakspeare love thee more.

Out of the mazes of this poem, not unlike the shadowy windings of life itself, with its desires, its questions, its baffled but ever vital hopes, emerge two sure facts concerning a modern ideal of friendship—its persistent love in the face of death, or absence, or even doubt; and its inspiration



not only of feeling, but of thought, as if the relationship became at once the starting-point for mental pilgrimages to starry goals.

And here it is well to ask why one of the fruits of friendship, as conceived both by ancients and moderns should be philosophic speculation. The answer may perhaps be found in the fact that all quickening of the spirit releases the spirit, and the fruit of love is curiosity. But whereas love between the sexes, by its nature, limits the play of the imagination, the spell of mystery to the personal as represented in the man and the woman, the love of friendship, involving only spiritual desires, gains by that calm the freedom of the universe. All the inspiration of emotion is there without its shackles. It becomes the liberator of thought—gray or golden but always noble, and noble thought by a kind of heavenly gravitation tends upward.

The beauty of nature enhanced by the companionship of a friend is one of the most general themes of the modern friendship poems. This situation, the enjoyment of landscape with a comrade must ever hold wholesome and delicate romance. A heavenly fabric of blue skies and aerial distances is interwoven with the thoughts of such companions. So it comes to pass that a wandering breath of hill-pastures, or the scent of a lilac branch recalls each to the other, aureoled with some sweet Spring or golden Summer. But nature, divorced from his friend was of little joy to Hartley Coleridge.

When we were idlers with the loitering rills,  
The need of human love we little noted;  
Our love was nature; and the peace that floated  
On the white mist and dwelt among the hills  
To sweet accord subdued our wayward wills;  
One soul was ours, one mind, one heart devoted,  
That wisely doting, ask'd not why it doted,  
And ours the unknown joy, which knowing kills.



But now I find how dear thou art to me;  
 That man is more than half of nature's treasure,  
 Of that fair beauty which no eye can see,  
 Of that sweet music which no ear can measure  
 And now the streams may sing for others' pleasure.  
 The hills sleep on in their eternity.

Wordsworth's 'Prelude' is a confession of his love for nature, and his education through this love, to a friend who could understand the moods of his soul. Comprehension rather than devotion would seem to be a test of friendship, for comprehension is nearer the impersonal element which must rule in such a relation. Coleridge understood, and to him Wordsworth bares a heart calmed forever by nature beyond touch of human passion.

. . . . Thou, my Friend! wert reared  
 In the great city, 'mid far other scenes;  
 But we, by different roads, at length have gained  
 The self-same bourne, and for this cause to thee  
 I speak. . . .  
 . . . . with such a theme  
 Coleridge! with this my argument of thee  
 Shall I be silent? O, capacious soul!  
 Placed on the earth to love and understand,  
 And from thy presence shed the light of love  
 Shall I be mute, ere thou be spoken of.

Matthew Arnold knew also the poetry of communion through friendship with nature, but to him it held a note of doubt and sadness, not to be found in Wordsworth's tranquil measures. In 'Thyrsis' he flutes his friend like Orpheus from the dead back to the sweet scenes of their companionship: and with a wistfulness half-pagan, as of those who survive only a little longer than the flowers.

Of living poets it seems that few comparatively have sung the happiness of sharing nature's beauty with a friend.



Among these few Bliss Carman is eminent by his lyrics in memory of his companion, Andrew Straton.

These are the seven wind songs  
For Andrew Straton's rest  
From the hills of the Scarlet Hunter,  
And the trail of the endless quest.

Walt Whitman has sung the love of comrades in rugged, vital verse suggestive of the strong, substantial yet romantic bond friendship must have been to him. To Richard Hovey, closely associated during his life-time with Bliss Carman, comradeship was the very salt of existence.

Comrades watch the tides tonight  
For the sailing is with dawn!  
Oh, to face the spray together  
With the tempest coming on!  
Greet the sea  
With a shout of glee  
When strong men roam together.  
Comrades, give a cheer tonight  
For the dying is with dawn!  
Oh, to meet the stars together  
With the silence coming on  
Greet the end  
As a friend a friend  
When strong men die together!

The spirit of this last stanza leads to the consideration of another ideal of friendship, by no means modern in its origin, but not without expression in modern literature—the friendship of the strong who are to die together, essentially a martial and militant relation of which, perhaps, revolutionary Italy offered the most romantic and illustrious examples.

In 'The Disciples' a volume of noble verse in memory of the Italian patriots Harriet Hamilton King has recorded the



intense devotion existing between Mazzini and Garibaldi and their followers, the devotion—higher perhaps than any other worship of friendship—of men to great leaders in a holy cause. Jacopo Ruffini, about to die, calls from his prison-cell upon Mazzini the well-beloved.

When all the world has changed to thee, and thou  
Art known of men, remember then that I  
In my first youth was first for thee to die,  
And love me, Giuseppe, evermore.

Friendship commemorated in the turmoil of war or in the peace of nature is not usual in modern poetry; but other moods and phases of this relationship have received even slighter tribute. A survey of recent magazine verse, and of the *American Anthology*, reveals scarcely a subject dealing with friendship. I can recall but one such magazine poem, and only four lines of this, summing up the thought that a dead friendship can be replaced.

Say what you will the child  
Upon the breast  
Consoles us for the one  
In dreamless rest.

But it would not be just to say that a single poem represents a modern ideal of friendship. There is broader evidence that a strong nature refuses substitutes for dead ideals. What he loved, he loved, and the place in his heart remains empty and echoing that the friend who left it may, perchance, some day come again to his own.

Works on friendship continue to be published from time to time, but the interest they evidence in this relation is a less trustworthy index than poetry or fiction. A chapter on the loss of a friend could not say as much as these lines from a poem by Arthur Christopher Benson.



If it be well with him,  
If it be well, I say,  
I will not try with a childish cry  
To draw him thence away;  
Only my day is dim  
Only I long for him,  
Where is my friend today?

Among modern essays on friendship, Emerson's, of course, stands preeminent for felicity of thought and tenderness of feeling, but how far it is representative of the prevalent ideal it is difficult to say. In it the philosopher speaks, rather than his generation, using transcendental language, mysterious and inexplicable to the common ear. He addresses himself to the elect, the lonely souls who already know his message.

"The higher the style we demand of friendship of course the less easy to establish it with flesh and blood. We walk alone in this world.

"Friends such as we desire are dreams and fables. But a sublime hope cheers ever the faithful heart, that elsewhere in other regions of universal power, souls are now acting, enduring and daring, which can love us and which we can love. We may congratulate ourselves that the period of nonage, of follies, of blunders, and of shame is passed in solitude, and when we are finished men we shall grasp heroic hands in heroic hands."

This to the majority would not be comforting doctrine. Better that a friend should be to thee forever a sort of beautiful enemy, untamable, devoutly revered.

Modern fiction is even less rich in tributes to friendship than poetry or essays, but this is not altogether a sign that the emotion is absent from society, or has ceased to influence the popular imagination; but is owing partly to its non-dramatic character. For friendship at its noblest is non-dramatic, because essentially tranquil. A friend does not



doubt, does not, like privileged lovers, quarrel. His caring is peaceful, truthful, and far less on the surface than the love between the sexes. He demands nothing, gives much, and is lord and master of many spiritual and material contentments. He goes a-fishing with his friend; or the two smoke together in the winter firelight; or perhaps on some high hill-top talk—if they are young and impassioned—of high themes concerning life and its mystery. But these phases are comfortable, consoling, inspiring it may be, not dramatic. Only the false friend, or the friend in battle, or in some strenuous emergency can furnish material for play or novel.

Modern classic fiction affords few instances of friendship as a motive force in the interplay of lives. Thomas Hardy's philosophy of treacherous powers at their sport with men has no place for the divine tranquillities of knitted souls. Thackeray was too skeptical of human fidelity to honor it greatly in this relation. But Dickens knew the romance of friendship and portrayed it exquisitely in young David Copperfield's devotion to the gallant and worthless Steerforth.

In more recent literature little use is made of friendship. Friends come and go, but they cause not a ripple on the surface of the story. Of American writers Sarah Orne Jewett seems best to understand the spirit of friendship. Against her placid backgrounds of country life she depicts the sweet, homely, unconscious devotion of simple souls to each other. The very fragrance of this relationship in its broadest, most human aspect breathes through the little classic 'Miss Tempy's Watchers.'

"Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends." But to live for them is also a great and honorable test.



## THE UNITED STATES BOARD ON GEOGRAPHIC NAMES

STANHOPE SAMS

IN AN article in the September GUNTON'S, 'Our Motley Geographical Names,' attention was called to the chaotic condition of place names on our maps and in our atlases, due to ignorance or to the moral cowardice of bureaucrats and geographers. In this brief essay I wish to examine the work of the Board created for the special purpose of bringing order out of this chaos.

Although geography has been a weak point with Americans ever since Washington, it was not until an enlightened modern scholar, Benjamin Harrison, reached the White House that any systematic attempt was made to correct the manifold errors that discredit and darken the pages of American books. President Harrison issued an executive order September 4, 1890, in which he said:

As it is desirable that uniform usage in regard to geographic nomenclature and orthography obtain throughout the Executive Departments of the Government, and particularly upon the maps and charts issued by the various Departments and bureaus, I hereby constitute a Board on Geographic Names.

The use of the preposition 'on,' where general English usage seems to demand 'of,' possibly expresses a veiled sense of humor on the part of President Harrison that the probing of the Geographic Board would not be very deep, or a genial skepticism as to any authority that might attach to its pronouncements.

The order further declared:

To this Board shall be referred all unsettled questions concerning geographic names which arise in the Departments, and the decisions of the Board are to be accepted by these Departments as the standard authority in such matters.



The qualification, "unsettled," is important, as the Board may limit its investigations to such matters only as are 'unsettled' by the individual or united wisdom of the various Executive Departments. It is interesting to examine how the Board on Geographic Names, with its duties and limitations thus defined, has carried out the order creating it.

The First Report of the Board was issued December, 1891, and gave, in 56 pages, the general principles upon which it made investigations, a list of 'Decisions,' and a list of County Names in the United States. The Second Report was published in March, 1901. This is much fuller, and, in addition to the County Names, its list of 'Decisions' covers about 110 pages. All references, unless otherwise indicated, are to this second and latest report.

The work accomplished by the Board is not very creditable, as to volume or quality, even when we judge it by its own standards. This is due, perhaps, to a certain timidity, or to a weak acquiescence in ignorant usage, which prevented the Board from observing the clear and satisfactory principle that it recognizes as correct in dealing with foreign place names. This principle is stated as follows:

The Board is agreed that in general the name which is in common local use at present should be adopted. This is a broad, general principle, and summarizes the policy of the Board.

It does not, however, summarize the practise of the Board.

As to foreign names, the Board has made a more explicit declaration of the principles covering its investigations. It announces that:

The forms of foreign names recommended for adoption are determined on consultation of established usage, the best authorities upon ethnological and political history and derivation, and current geographic and political information from authentic sources.



These declarations are bold enough to satisfy even the purist, and if closely followed, would lead to useful and satisfactory results. But the Board has not the courage of its scientific convictions and is willing at all points to compromise with ignorance. Even in cases where the difference between the correct foreign name and the anglicized name is very slight, and where correct usage would not create confusion, the Board has acquiesced in the false form, or has not thought it worth while to recommend the correct form. Its attitude of compromise is evident in the following:

It is understood by the Board that our charts of the coast of foreign countries using Roman characters, made for the use of our navy and merchant marine, generally require the use of the local forms of these names; while, on the other hand, popular usage in this country, especially in our atlases and text-books, requires the anglicized form. The Board practically leaves this matter on the same footing as heretofore, approving the use of local forms of foreign names upon our charts, and the anglicized forms upon maps designed for use in this country. It hopes, however, that the way may be opened in the near future to the adoption throughout of the local forms of these names and the rejection of the anglicized forms. In such specific cases as have been brought to its attention it has decided uniformly in favor of the local form.

The last sentence of the above quotation is an overstatement. One or two illustrations will show that the Board has not "decided uniformly in favor of the local form," even in countries using the Roman characters. For instance, 'Christiania' is not the local form of the name of the capital of Norway, which is Kristiania; nor is 'Porto Rico' the correct form to Puerto Rico, nor is 'Vienna' the name of the capital of Austria. In the case of place names in countries that do not use Roman characters, neither the letter nor the spirit of the principle is followed; as where the ridiculous form 'Teheran' is used for Tahrán (Persia); and 'Pekin,' 'Nankin,' and 'Sahara' are used where the cor-



rect forms—Peking, Nanking, and Sahra—would be perfectly understood and result in no confusion.

When one glances over the comparatively brief and unimportant list of names given in the Second Report of the Board the wonder increases as to the knowledge or the presumption of knowledge in the Executive Departments of this Government. It was supposed by President Harrison that whenever there was doubt on the part of officers in any Department as to the proper form of a geographical name, the question would be referred for settlement to the Board. And yet foreign place names that would seem to call for the decision of such a Board are, like Brutus and Cassius on a certain occasion in Rome, conspicuous by their absence. This is the more remarkable since every day reveals abundant evidence of either the ignorance or the indifference of various Departments as to the correct forms of names. For instance, the Departments of State, War, Navy, and Treasury, make continual use of the French form 'St.' Petersburg, while Count Cassini, the Russian Ambassador, and Andrew D. White, who was attached for years to the Russian Mission, use the approximately correct Russian form, Petersburg. Why has not this question been referred to the Board for arbitrament? Again, such incorrect forms as 'Chili,' 'Argentine,' Buenos 'Ayres,' 'Moscow'—to cite only a few very common instances—are to be met with in official documents from day to day. Why should not cases like these, and a thousand others, be referred to the Board, so that correct forms could be furnished to the offenders, and the usage of the Departments be made to conform to the usage of intelligent men throughout the world? The members of the Board, seem quite competent to ascertain the correct place names, at least in countries using the Roman characters. It is not ignorance as much as it is a lack of courage. It must be said, however, that the Board does not seem to have the slightest



understanding of even the alphabets of the Asiatic language. But even in Asia there are certain names the correct local form of which could be readily ascertained without a knowledge of the original tongues. Yet the Board not only gives an incorrect form to Arabic, Persian, and Chinese names, but frequently gives a form that is absolutely impossible in those languages. This is the case with 'Teheran.' There are almost as many errors in this word as there are letters. It has two 'e's,' and there is no 'e' in the Persian language. The word is of three syllables, and the Persian word has only two. As pointed out before, this incorrect form of the word has led the ignorant to put the accent upon the second syllable, instead of upon the last as it is pronounced in Persia.

The Board seems timidly averse to making sweeping changes, lest confusion should arise. It says that it would be practically impossible to restore the name of 'Psyche' to Pysht in Washington, 'L'eau Frais' to Low Freight. With these there may possibly be no question. But while the board hopes that the local form of foreign place names may be ultimately adopted, it is not willing to aid in this adoption by suggesting even inappreciable changes in certain very common names. For instance the Italian city that we call 'Milan' is well known to be Milano. Here is the change of only an 'o' at the end, and the name would not be confused by adding it. In the case of 'Moscow' why should not the Russian form Moskva be adopted? In the case of 'Teheran' and 'Moscow' the Board deliberately enters these false forms without an intimation as to the correct forms. If it would do this—give the correct local form—it would aid very greatly in making us accustomed to the look and sound of the foreign names, and thus lead gradually to their adoption.

It is not so difficult as the Board seems to think to change a local name. It is constantly being done by our Post-



office authorities. These think nothing of dropping such suffixes as Court House, Cross Roads, City, Town, and the possessive 's' at the end of names. Even in the District of Columbia, Tennallytown has shrunk to the little measure of Tenley. Although the full name appears on guideposts and old maps, there seems to be no confusion. There would be no confusion on the other hand, if the final 's' were dropped from such supposedly French names as 'Lyons' and 'Marseilles,' giving them their true French forms. There would likewise be no confusion in writing Moskva, Petersburg, Kristiania, Sevilla (Seville), Milano, Italia, Roma, Cöln (Cologne), and a hundred other common geographical names that are now uniformly misspelled, but not misspelled in a uniform way. On the Isthmus of Panamá there was formerly the town of 'Aspinwall.' This was named by the English, who, like ourselves, go around ignorantly dubbing foreign places with mongrel names. The native authorities finally notified the world that all mail intended for Colón must hereafter bear the proper name, not the name of 'Aspinwall.' The English name has now been so completely forgotten that when Americans read the story of 'The Light-house Keeper of Aspinwall,' they have difficulty in locating the scene.

A great many changes are constantly occurring in the names of places. The capital of Japan, Tōkyō, has been so called only since 1868. Previous to that it was known as Yedo. This latter form was written in a dozen different ways, as 'Edo' and 'Yeddo' and 'Jeddo.' There is no difficulty about Tōkyō, or about dozens of names that have been similarly changed. Constantinople is a case in point, where, owing to an absurd religious prejudice, we are attempting to perpetuate a name that has not properly belonged to the city for centuries. The intellectual world had no difficulty in calling that city Byzantium under the Greek empire, and should have no difficulty in calling it



Stamboul under the Ottoman empire. Yet Christendom clings to 'Constantinople' as if it were really an article of its faith. Jerusalem has changed its name often, and is not known in the East today by its Hebrew and Christian name. The Muhammadans have named it anew. In fact, nothing is more common in history than the constant change of names. Any courageous effort in this direction by the Board on Geographic names would soon show that it is as easy to be correct in these things as it is to be ridiculously wrong.

An instance of what may be called persistent and obstinate error is illustrated under the name of Strassburg in the list of 'Decisions' of the Board. The Board very correctly gives this name the German form Strassburg, since it is now a German city. The French form 'Strasbourg' is obsolete. But the Board stultifies itself by explaining that Strassburg is the capital of Alsace-Lorraine. Now, Alsace-Lorraine is a French and not a German form. How does the Board reconcile this statement that Strassburg, a German city, is the capital of a French province? The true German form is Elsass-Lothringen, and the Board should have stated that Strassburg is the capital of Elsass-Lothringen. This illustrates the chaotic condition of the Board on Geographic names. It makes Strassburg German, but has not the courage to transfer Alsace-Lorraine, a spoil of war, to the German empire.

The Board also seems to incline to the opinion that the anglicizing of foreign names may be permitted for home consumption. This is absolutely wrong, as it is never necessary to anglicize foreign names. Unfortunately, we inherit a great many errors and sources of error, but there is no use in adding to them. The French have always translated foreign names, whenever possible. 'The United States' becomes in French 'Les États Unis.' And such names as the Green Mountains, etc., are readily trans-



formed into French equivalents. Where translation is not possible, Gallic forms are used; as 'Venice,' 'Amerique,' and so forth. But the tendency, even in France, is now toward the correct transliteration of foreign names. Much license must be permitted to the French, as to poets, because for a long time they held political ascendancy, and for generations have held the intellectual ascendancy, of the world. As Macaulay says, France held over the world the ascendancy that Rome held over Greece (political), and the ascendancy that Greece held over Rome (intellectual). For this reason the French have assumed the right to rechristen Christendom and heathendom. Our chief duty in this regard is to ascertain the correct names of foreign places, and to use them correctly. We have no right to ignorance.

There are two sources of error in regard to foreign names as well as to all foreign words. One is ignorance of the language in which the word occurs, and the other is lazy acquiescence in rooted error. Of both the Standard dictionary, the list of Decisions of the Board on Geographic Names, and any American or English map afford abundant illustrations. For instance, the Standard dictionary, in its department of Proper Names, gives 'Saghalien,' and 'Sakhalin' as if they were two different names. The proper form is Sahkalin, and it is astonishing how this inconsistency should have escaped the multitudinous board of advisers of that dictionary.

As further illustration of the ignorance displayed by our lexicographers as well as map-makers, the following examples are taken from the Standard dictionary. A very common piece in the game of chess is known as the 'castle,' or 'rook.' It is well known that the word 'rook' comes from the Persian *rukḥ*; but the Standard insists upon giving the Persian as *rokh*. There is no such word possible in the Persian language as the Persian has no 'o.' To come



nearer home, there is a group of rocks in Colorado known as Roches Moutonnées. This the Standard derives from *roche*, a rock, and *mouton*, mutton—mutton rocks! Of course the phrase means sheep rocks, the rocks resembling the fleece of sheep. Another illustration. A beautiful tree has been imported from Japan and ornaments the streets of Washington as well as the parks of other cities of this country. Its Japanese name is *ginko*. The Standard dictionary gives it as *gingko*—an absurd and impossible form. These few illustrations show how much dependence may be placed upon our authorities in lexicography and cartography.

It happens that a great many foreign place names have been adopted for American villages and cities. Most of these are either misspelled or mispronounced. It would be impossible to restore the correct forms in all cases, and it does not matter, as we have a right to name our places as we wish. If we wish to name a place Psyche, and call it 'Pysht' because we do not know any better; it is our affair, and the map-makers of the world will respect our ignorance and write it Pysht on their maps. Some of these foreign names, however, are amusing commentaries on the intelligence of their respective neighborhoods. There are dozens of streets and towns named 'Waverly,' under the impression that they are named from the Waverley novels. Yet in the Bulletin of the United States Geographical Survey, number 197, compiled under direction of Henry Gannett, Geographer, Chairman of the Board on Geographic Names, this ridiculous form is reprinted with the comment "named for Scott's novels," without any intimation that the spelling is wrong and that Waverley is the correct form. This error is in keeping with the use of the name Greenville in several States under the impression that it is in commemoration of the revolutionary hero General Greene. Some



years ago when there was a revolt in Egypt a great deal of sympathy was felt in this country for the leader of the insurrection, and when a new town was laid out in Georgia; it was called Arabi. This name is pronounced by the citizens as Ara-bye, with the accent strong on the last syllable. The quaint pronunciation stands as a monument to the intelligence of the sponsors of the town.

One more error may be cited by itself as peculiarly irritating; this is the spelling of the famous strait at Stamboul known as the Bosphorus. For some reason the Board on Geographic Names prefers the absurd spelling Bosphorus—possibly under the impression that it has something to do with phosphorus. The correct form has no 'h,' and even the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, while giving 'Bosphorus,' confesses that Bosphorus is the correct form. This was half a century ago, and yet the Board on Geopraghic Names deliberately perpetuates this misspelling of a common name.

A word should be added, however, in commendation of the limited amount of good work accomplished by the Board. For instance, it gives the correct forms of quite a number of names, many of which are usually ignored by the very Departments of the Government who have presumably asked for light and guidance. It gives, among others, the following correct forms: Makassar, Malakka, Korea, Kongo, Sakhalin, Saloniki, Mekka, Tokyo, Timbuktu, Lyon, Marseille, Budapest, Kabul, Karpathian, Kashmir, Kuril, Sudan, Tabriz, Rio de Janeiro.

The Board has a rooted objection to accents and all diacritical marks, especially for use in the United States. It would probably be absurd to use French or Spanish accents, German umlauts, and Spanish tildes, in the names of our places. But this objection can not hold with reference to foreign names. On this subject the Board says:



Accents should not, generally, be used; but where there is a very decided emphatic syllable or stress which affects the sound of the word it should be marked by an acute accent. Examples: Tongatábu, Galápagos.

It is to be regretted that the Board did not illustrate this principle in its list. Possibly the Bureau and Department chiefs are so cocksure of their knowledge of foreign names that they do not need any suggestion as to uniformity or correctness. It would be of great utility, however, if the Board would give a list of Spanish names that have a written accent, as whenever this accent is used the syllable has a most decided emphasis. This list should include such common names as: Carácas, Santander, Paraná, Perú, Puerto Príncipe, and Bogotá. It should not be forgotten that this accent is just as much a part of the spelling of certain words as any letter in them.

The Louisville Courier Journal, in commenting on the article in the September GUNTON's, says that the writer seems to ignore the fact that most newspaper printing offices have no accented letters. It is well known that newspaper usage is inexact and slipshod. It is the rule in the best newspaper offices, however, that French words must bear the proper accent. For instance, the ordinary title *chargé* seldom appears in a reputable newspaper without the accent, and yet I have never seen in an American newspaper the words Panamá or Bolívar properly accented. It would be better to leave the accent from the familiar *chargé* than to omit it from either of these Spanish words. The same writer in the Courier Journal seems to try to justify a certain Senator's accent of Panamá on the second syllable by a quotation from Walter Scott. But Scott is no authority for pronouncing Panamá. Goldsmith unquestionably accented 'Niagara' on the third syllable in a famous line, "And Niagára stuns with deafening roar;" but no Senator or newspaper would cite Goldsmith as authority for this pronunciation of the name.



The German umlaut is also essential in certain German names. Of course, if we prefer we may change the two dots above the vowel into an 'e;' for instance, we may write Göthe or Goethe; or we may write Nürnberg with or without the umlaut; but if we drop the umlaut we must insert the 'e.' It is better to use the umlaut, as it is distinctly German, in words like Cöln, Nürnberg, and Würzburg. It will be found that persons who are familiar with these places would have no difficulty in understanding the umlaut, and those who are not familiar with them would not be able to read the names whether with the umlaut or without.

It is very desirable that a Board clothed with the authority of the Board on Geographic Names should lend its weight and example to a needed reform in geographic nomenclature. In order to do this, the Board would have to abandon its timid practise of acquiescing in ignorant though common forms, and it would have also to give, even where it approved for the time an incorrect form, the form known to be correct in the native country. It should also include in a list all correct forms that could be adopted without much disturbance of established usage—such as Moskva, Milano, and so forth; and even where the correct form is entirely different from the vulgar and incorrect form—such as Stamboul for 'Constantinople,' Wien for 'Vienna,' Livorno for 'Leghorn,' and so forth—it should give side by side with the incorrect form the correct one. This would enable every one, by a reference to the list, to familiarize himself with the correct form of foreign names, and so accustom all of us gradually to a wider and wider use of the proper forms.



## EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE

THE Democratic managers are not making a sufficiently vigorous attack upon the tariff to suit the mugwump element of the party. The New York Evening Post is trying hard to screw the managers up to the point of making the fight squarely on the tariff. The old line managers have more political wisdom than the Post's type of doctrinaires. They know that the more they force the Free-trade issue, the more popular the Republican party is likely to be. Nothing will contribute more to the election of Roosevelt than a square declaration by the Democrats that their object is Free Trade.

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THE Democrats are reprinting portions of the tariff-revision statements of Congressman Babcock and Governor Cummins, and they read like the St Louis platform and the Democratic campaign text-book. It is always inconvenient for public men to be quoted against themselves, but it is especially awkward for the Chairman of a Congressional Campaign Committee to be quoted in favor of a Democratic policy, when he is trying to raise funds and get votes for the Republican party. It might be easy and true to say that Babcock does not represent the Republican policy; but there he is, Chairman of its Congressional Campaign Committee.

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It is almost pathetic to observe the lifting by the bootstrap kind of efforts the Parker press is making to create a boom for its candidate. It announces that the Lawyers' League is in favor of Parker, and cites, with great gusto, a list of names, such as W. H. Peckam, Will-



iam Hornblower, Francis L. Stetson, John G. Milburn, John G. Carlisle, Peter B. Olney, John E. Parsons, and James C. Carter. These names are given out as if they indicated a stampede of lawyers from Roosevelt to Parker, whereas they are all Cleveland Democrats. True, some of them may have voted for Palmer and Buckner, but it is doubtful if most of them, like Judge Parker himself, did not vote for Bryan.

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IN HIS address of notification to Mr Davis, John Sharp Williams showed his benighted ignorance of economic subjects. He tried to discuss a number of industrial questions in a humorous way, and in so doing succeeded in showing that he had not an economic idea that dates this side of 1840. It would not have been surprising had the aged Mr Davis proved unfamiliar with modern economics, but for the present Democratic leader in Congress to believe in the wage-fund and supply and demand as the only regulating forces in prices shows that the progress in economic thought in the last fifty years has been wasted so far as John Sharp Williams is concerned. A party with such leaders and such ideas may be expected to believe in Free Trade, free silver, greenbacks, government banking, and other heresies belonging to the first quarter of the nineteenth century, and, likewise, to be opposed to every modern idea of economics, finance, and industry.

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It is interesting to note how the mugwump papers wriggle to praise in Judge Parker what they disapprove in Mr Roosevelt. The Boston Herald, of August 24, has two editorials side by side headed respectively "Judge Parker's speeches" and "The Silence of Theodore Roosevelt." According to these editorials, it is highly dignified in Judge Parker to refuse to make speeches, while for Mr Roosevelt to be silent shows cowardly suppression. According to



the Herald, "Judge Parker will make no speeches, unless he has something to say." Then he will probably be silent during the whole campaign.

In his Oyster Bay address Mr Roosevelt did say something, and if he only lives up to what he said, he will make a better President the next four years than he has been for the last three. The difference between the two men seems to be that Judge Parker is silent because he has nothing to say, and Mr Roosevelt is silent because he has said all that was necessary.

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IN replying to the outcry against our extravagant expenditures for military purposes, and the danger to our freedom from a large standing army, Mr Roosevelt gave his opponents a stunning blow in the following paragraph:

It is difficult to know if our opponents are really sincere in their demand for the reduction of the army. If insincere, there is no need for comment, and if sincere, what shall we say in speaking to rational persons of an appeal to reduce an army of 60,000 men which is taking care of the interests of over 80,000,000 people? The army is now relatively smaller than it was in the days of Washington, when on the peace establishment there were 3600 soldiers, while there were a little less than 4,000,000 of population; smaller than it was in the peaceful days of Jefferson, when there were 5100 soldiers to 5,300,000 population. There is now 1 soldier to every 1400 people in this country—less than one-tenth of 1 per cent. We can not be asked seriously to argue as to the amount of possible tyranny contained in these figures.

Edward Atkinson will please rise and explain.

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IT is a significant commentary on the political character of David B. Hill, and of the distrust with which he is held even by his own party, that, in order not to injure the cause and candidate he espouses, he has been compelled publicly



to announce that he will withdraw from politics after January, 1905. If this promise is to be interpreted in the light of his political record, it must be taken with a liberal discount. Mr Cleveland promised not to accept a second term, yet when the time came he accepted two terms and three nominations. If Mr Cleveland's promises to withdraw from public office seeking were valueless, what confidence can be placed in Hill's? Such promises are always made for the purpose of promoting some important political object. They should never be taken seriously. A man who makes a promise to quit public life at a specific date, as an inducement to be accepted at present, should always be distrusted. David B. Hill is a discredit to American public life, and the fact that he is thoroughly distrusted by all parties is a sign of wholesome public opinion.

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A *SUIT* has been brought in the United States Circuit Court at Trenton, N. J., under the Sherman Anti-trust Act, by Mr Rice of Marietta to have the Standard Oil Company dissolved. The readers of this Magazine will remember Mr Rice as the man who some years ago insisted that the Standard Oil Company should buy out his small refining plant for a half million dollars. Mr Rice did not pretend that his plant was worth that amount, but he wanted a quarter of a million for his little plant and good-will and the other quarter of a million as bonus for not annoying the Standard Oil Company.

When Mr Rice's proposition was refused, he threatened to make it cost them many times that amount in other ways. He has kept his word to the extent of devoting his whole time to different schemes for annoying the company. This suit is characteristic of many others in the same line, and is doubtless a part of Mr Rice's plan. Had he devoted a quarter as much time to honest business as he has to annoying



the Standard Oil Company, he probably would have been a rich man, instead of a penniless pessimist.

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THE MUGWUMP press made a great ado about James C. Carter's announcement for Parker. It is difficult to see just why Mr Carter's support of a Democratic ticket should be a matter of comment, since he has always been a Democrat. In his letter to the College Men's Club he admitted that it is not his preference for Parker over Roosevelt, but his hatred of Protection that makes him a Democrat. This is eminently proper. All Free-traders should be Democrats, there is no place for them in the Republican Party. Yet an intelligent man should be able to give a better reason for his political conduct than this:

The Republican party stands as a vast and organized combination of pecuniary interests whose only bond of union is the receipt of prodigious sums of money levied by taxation, direct or indirect, or the hope to receive them.

It is difficult to think that a great lawyer like Mr. Carter can be so ignorant of the economics of Protection, or so prejudiced, as to believe such stuff. A man who does not know any better than to attribute the traditional policy of the nation to dishonest motives, is, to say the least, utterly unfit to give political advice to his neighbors.

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FOR SAYING that "a somewhat careful study of the Democratic utterance upon this question leads one to the conclusion that the Democratic party is not for Free Trade, but is for some kind of Protection which shall be a little different from the Republican kind," Senator Lodge has been taken seriously to task by the New York Evening Post. In repelling the insinuation that the Democratic party is not a Free-trade party the Post indignantly says:

If this be a true picture, why should any one go chasing



rainbows by voting the Democratic ticket? But it is not true so far as it relates to the utterances of the St. Louis platform, and it is not true as regards the thinking masses of the party.

The Post is undoubtedly right. The Democratic leaders, the Democratic press, and the mass of the Democratic party are for Free Trade, and any pretense on the part of the political managers that they are not, is a dishonest subterfuge. If, like the Post, they would come out squarely and declare for Free Trade, there might be an honest campaign and an intelligent verdict at the polls. If the people of this country want Free Trade, they ought to have it; but if the Democratic party really means Free Trade, and is pretending that it does not, it ought to be defeated, if only for its political cowardice and chicanery.

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IF ANY evidence of the prevalent wrong-headedness in the labor ranks was lacking, it has just been furnished by the United Garment Workers' Union of America. Mr Henry White has for some years been the General Secretary and leader of that organization. He has been the editor of its publication, and has shown more sound sense and broad-minded leadership than almost any other labor leader in the country. His editorials and his addresses have shown a rare philosophic insight into the economics of the labor question. He was always true to the principle and spirit of the labor-union movement; but he opposed the recent demand for a strike to enforce the closed-shop. He advised against it, and when his union insisted upon a strike that he regarded as unwise and hopeless, he resigned the leadership. For this he has been expelled from the union as a 'traitor' to the cause. All his previous services, which have been the making of the Garment Workers' Union, were unconsidered.

Nothing could better demonstrate the utter unfitness of



the Garment Workers for the closed-shop than this conduct toward their best adviser and leader. If they can so act toward a man like Mr White, who they know has devoted years to their cause, what would they not do to employers or intelligent laborers who would not be their groveling slaves, if they had the power of the closed-shop?

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It is bad enough for the Democratic candidate for Vice-president to descend to obvious misrepresentation and declare that the "factories, mills, mines, and furnaces" of the country are being closed down, "and those that are open are being operated with reduced force on short hours" . . . and "wages reduced;" but for the New York Times to give editorial countenance to this unsupported and untrue statement is even worse. Mr. Davis may not know any better. He was nominated for political office because of his "barrel," but the New York Times is a public educator. As such it assumes a certain moral responsibility. Although it makes a leading editorial of the matter, half of which consists of an extract from Mr Davis's speech, it does not cite a single fact to justify this sweeping misstatement. The nearest it comes to proving Mr Davis's assertion is by saying: "Ex-senator Davis, who is a man busily engaged in industrial pursuits, would be pretty sure to have practical knowledge of the extent and degree of American prosperity." If it be true that he really has a practical knowledge of the extent and degree of American prosperity, his statement shows a greater lack of integrity than we are willing to impute to him. Mr Davis may have been imposed upon by reckless campaign statistics, but that does not excuse the Times for using the aged millionaire candidate to circulate panic-creating stories which it knows are not true.

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ELECTION prophets always make considerable talk about the Vermont and Maine elections. While these elections furnish the theme for various efforts of campaign speculations, they seldom furnish any real cue to the political situation in November. That the majorities are a few thousand more or less in Maine and Vermont indicates nothing, except in the case of a tidal wave. The increased Republican majority in Vermont makes it quite evident that there is no tidal wave in sight for Parker. If the election indicates anything more than this, it is that the current is actually flowing the other way.

Mr Parker's stock was at its highest immediately after his gold telegram. If the election had taken place within a week of that time, his chances would have been fair. He probably would have carried New York; but since that time every twenty-four hours has registered symptoms of decline. Every time he opens his mouth his stock perceptibly falls. His silence, which, before the Convention, was his strength, is now rapidly coming to be regarded as an expedient to prevent the further revelation of weakness. Unless the New York Republicans are divided by factional quarrels, Parker's chances of carrying the State are poor, and are likely to continue to grow poorer; and without New York his case is hopeless. Unless his letter of acceptance reveals something altogether superior to his acceptance speech, it is doubtful if his electoral vote will equal Bryan's.

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THOSE who were disappointed by the insipid, commonplace character of Judge Parker's notification address, must have had their optimism further chilled by his address to the editors. This was really one of the most routine, machine-made deliverances that ever came from a candidate for the Presidency. The only point that shows the slightest symptom of life was taken from Cleveland's recent letter, resent-



ing the claim of the Republicans that they alone are fit to govern. His strung-out talk about extravagance was as hackneyed as a schoolboy's first oration. He says:

The comparison will show that each succeeding Republican administration after 1868 increased expenses, . . . During Mr. Cleveland's first term the average annual expenditure was about \$269,000,000. For the past three years it has been about \$519,000,000.

Of course the expenditures are greater in 1904 than they were in 1884, and they will continue to grow greater as the demand for public improvements in different directions develop. Since Mr Cleveland was in office we have had a successful war, set a new country up in business, bought the Isthmian Canal, and expended large sums on irrigation; and yet the country is more prosperous, has more wealth *per capita*, and less idleness, charity, and soup-kitchens than it had in Mr. Cleveland's administration. To compare the public expenditures of Cleveland's first term with 1903, and call the increase extravagance and waste, is too puerile to be taken seriously.

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A GREAT effort is being made to boom the Democratic candidate for Vice-president by proclaiming the fact that he was once a wage-worker, as if that had anything to do with his fitness to be the Vice-president of the United States, or with his attitude toward the interest of labor. It is proverbial that the hardest taskmasters are those who have risen from the ranks.

As a matter of fact, the most generous and broad-minded employers are those who have never had the hardening apprenticeship of the shop. Mr Davis's attitude toward public questions, like the employment of children, the hours of labor, the rights of labor-unions, and rational aspects of the labor movement are a thousand times more important to American laborers than the fact that he was a brakeman on a train, or, did menial work at a dollar a day. The



question of public concern is not what he did for a living at eighteen, but what ideas and policies he stands for at eighty-two. There is nothing in his record, nor in his utterances to show that he has any liberal or progressive ideas on the labor question. All that is known of him is that he began poor, has become enormously rich, and, with his son-in-law, controls most of the railroads and mining interests of West Virginia; and that he has been a moss-back Democrat—wrong on all important questions. In Congress he was a greenbacker, and voted against the resumption of specie payment. He was a rabid silverite and an ardent supporter of the Bryan movement in two campaigns.

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BY WAY of denying the existing prosperity of the country, Mr Davis, in his acceptance speech at White Sulphur Springs, made the following statement:

Four years ago factories, mills, mines, and furnaces were in active operation, unable to supply the demand; but now many are closed, and those that are open are being operated with reduced force on short hours. Then wages were high, labor was scarce, and there was work for all. Now work is scarce, many wage-earners unemployed, and wages reduced.

Perhaps it would be too much to ask the candidate for Vice-president, who has been, and still is, enjoying riotous prosperity, to give some evidence of the truth of this assertion. He may have been told this by Mr Williams, or the compiler of a campaign text-book, and perhaps is partly excused for taking their word; but if he has made it on his own account, it reflects upon his accuracy and judgment. Of course, there are local instances, as in Fall River, Mass., where there is a strike to prevent a reduction of wages. This, as every informed person knows, is due to a particular cause, namely, the development of the cotton industry in the South, which is destined to drive cotton manufacture out of New England, unless the mills adopt improved machinery. But Mr Davis is not referring to the cotton indus-



try, but to mills and furnaces, and the general industries of the country.

Whoever is responsible for the statement quoted above, it is scandalous misrepresentation of the state of industry and labor throughout the country.

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THE New York Times is very much ruffled because the Republican campaign-book shows that the States that have the greatest proportion of manufactures have the greatest proportion of all forms of wealth. Land values and the value of horses and cattle are higher; there are more savings bank deposits and bank clearings; there is more real and personal property *per capita*; and the salaries paid to teachers are much higher. In fact, all the evidence of progress and prosperity are greater in the States where diversified industries accompany agriculture.

Since the Times can not escape the obvious conclusion that the diversification of domestic industry is an essential feature of national prosperity and societarian progress, it blames the Republican party for not having introduced manufactures into the remaining purely agricultural States. This is very much like denouncing hygiene because, having saved a large number of lives and improved the health of the whole population, it did not prevent sickness and death altogether. Because Protection has not made Nevada, Idaho, Montana, and the Dakotas manufacturing States, the Times would have it prevented from promoting manufactures in the other States.

The Times seems not to know that the leveling down policy, which would injure the manufactures of New England, New York, Ohio, and the South, would soon paralyze the prosperity of the agricultural and mountain States. That was tried in 1892, and worked like a charm. A more foolish doctrine was never advocated than that of the destruction of the prosperity of one section so as to reduce it to the level of another.



## QUESTION BOX

### Indications of Maine and Vermont Elections

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir: Have the recent elections in Vermont and Maine given any certain indication as to the result of the National election in November?

I wish to offer the following suggestions, and should like to know whether you consider them sound:

1. In a State that is a stronghold for one or the other party, it seems to me to make little difference whether or not the party overwhelmingly in the majority polls a few thousand more or a few thousand less than the average. For instance, it would be no indication, as far as a national issue were concerned, whether the Democrats in Texas, or the Republicans in Pennsylvania, should cast a few thousand more or a few thousand less votes in a State election. The result would be conclusive of nothing more than a little more interest or a little more apathy among the voters.

2. On the other hand, if the party in the minority in a certain State should make substantial gains in the State election, it seems to me that this is an indication that is worth something. For instance, in the recent Maine election the Republicans made a small increase (4.7 per cent.); while the Democrats made the considerable gain of 26 per cent. The basis of comparison is the vote of 1900.

3. Is it not to be inferred from these results that there is a decided change of sentiment in the New England States, and possibly New York, in favor of the Democrats?

Our correspondent's suggestion, that a little change either way in the majority given at a by-election in a State overwhelmingly Democratic or Republican is of little significance as indicating the real tendency of public opinion, seems to be entirely sound. Nor is the increase or



decrease of the vote of the minority of any special significance under such conditions. No increase of the total party vote under such circumstances could indicate the trend of popular opinion, except so far as it might show a definite transfer of votes from one party to the other. To the extent that the vote should do that, it might indicate a tendency toward what is called a tidal wave. But it would not indicate this unless the same tendency was shown in both States. Nothing of this kind is shown by the vote of either Vermont or Maine.

The increased Republican majority in Vermont simply shows that the Republicans were enthusiastic and active, but the aggregate vote does not show any marked transfer of votes from the Democratic party, but it shows rather a degree of indifference or less enthusiasm among the Democrats. Nor does the vote of Maine reveal anything in particular regarding the popular sentiment for the November elections. The fact that the Democratic vote increased 26 per cent. while the Republican vote increased only 4.7 per cent. shows nothing at all except a tremendous eagerness among the Democratic mathematicians to make something out of nothing. The fact that the percentage of increase in the Democratic vote is greater than the percentage of increase of the Republicans is very misleading, because the Democratic vote is so much smaller than the Republican vote that the same actual increase of the Republicans would make a much smaller percentage. It is the actual increase, not the percentage, that really counts in such a case. But one fact that takes all the virtue out of the Democratic claim is that in 1896 and 1900 the Democratic vote in Maine was very weak, because Maine was a sound-money State and the Democrats were not enthusiastic Bryanites. For that reason the Democratic vote in those years was much smaller than the normal vote, and



makes a deceptive basis upon which to rest the percentage of increase, because the smaller the basis the larger the percentage would be.

In this election, for the first time since 1892, the Democrats of Maine were united or really normal, and, therefore, 1892 is really the proper basis for estimating the Democratic increase. In 1892 the Democratic vote in Maine was 55,078, and for this election the unofficial figures are 51,330; so that, compared with 1892, the last time the normal Democratic vote was cast in Maine, the Democrats have actually lost 3748, while the Republicans in each election have gained, and their gain is a little more than would be their proportionate gain in the increase of population.

Clearly, there is nothing in the elections in Vermont and Maine to indicate a change of sentiment in the New England States, in favor of the Democrats, nor even a change of sentiment in Maine. On the contrary, the figures show a growth of the Republican vote in both Maine and Vermont, a little more in proportion than the growth of population, which means an actual decline of the Democratic vote in both States. Yet this can hardly be taken as indicating any party change in New England or in national sentiment—it simply indicates a slight gain of Republican sentiment in Maine and Vermont.

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#### Will the Italian Displace the Negro in the South?

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir: There seems to be good reason for inferring that Italian laborers will supplant a large portion of the Negro farm laborers of the South. I extract the following from an article by W. L. Fleming in the September number of the *World Today*:

"In several of the Southern States the authorities encourage the coming of the Italians. The North Italian is



preferred, but the principal immigration comes from Southern Italy and the old Papal States. In Arkansas, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Texas are numbers of Italian farmers. It has been estimated that there are more than one hundred thousand Italian farm laborers in the Southern States of the Mississippi valley. On the cotton and sugar plantations wherever they go they supplant the Negro. . . . They work better than the Negro, keep their crops in better cultivation, and their stock in better condition. At first they are provided for just as the Negroes are, and have the same plantation privileges, and the same opportunities. After four years' work some of them bought small farms at \$40 to \$50 per acre and are now doing well. . . . A Sicilian can live on what a Negro would waste, and makes \$4 clear where the Negro makes \$1; and what he makes he saves.

"Other employers in that community are emancipating themselves from dependence upon unstable Negro labor."

If Mr Fleming is right, the Italians will not only take the place of a great number of Negro farm laborers, but will do so to the economic advantage of the Southern farmers. In this connection I wish to submit the following questions:

1. From what is known of the Italian as a citizen, would it be generally advantageous to this country to have Italian immigrants take the place of the Negro farm laborers of the South?

2. Would not such a result tend to modify, if not to solve the Negro question? Would not a wave of Italian immigrants have the effect of dispersing Negroes over the nation, and so change the proportion of whites to black in the 'Black Belt' as to remove the apprehension as to Negro supremacy, moderate the feeling against the Negro, and so eliminate the Negro question both socially and politically?

Yes, if Italians and other white foreign laborers supplant Negroes on the farms in the South it will affect the Negro question, because it will tend to increase the proportion of the white to the black population. Anything that tends to disperse the Negro population and reduce its proportion to the white lessens the importance of the color



question. In proportion as the Negroes are in the majority do the white people become alarmed about their political power and general influence. This has much to do with the difference in the attitude of the white people toward the Negroes in the South and in the North. In Massachusetts, for instance, they can advocate race equality with impunity because there are so few Negroes there that they can exercise no perceptible influence upon the general conditions, either politically or socially. In some Southern States, where the Negroes are nearly equal in number to the whites, and especially where they are in the majority, this question has an altogether different bearing. If, in the development of manufacturing industries in the South, the population should be doubled, and the increase made up of white immigrants, either from the Northern States or from foreign countries, that of itself would largely modify the Negro problem, for the reason just stated.

Of course, if the South imports Italian laborers it will have to face an Italian problem, which, though not like the Negro problem, has its difficulties. Italians are cheap laborers, but they are not as docile as the Negroes. When they get a little money and bad whisky they use the stiletto. They have no feeling of race inferiority, and will not regard the natives as their superiors. They are also easily converted into murderous mobs.

They will make the same kind of a problem in the South that has recently characterized the mining regions of Pennsylvania. Large masses of cheap labor are always a social menace whatever the color, and if Italians are cheap enough to underbid the Negroes in the latter's field of work, it is very doubtful if they will contribute any improvement to the Southern labor problem. Any increase of white labor will tend to lessen the Negro problem, but if the white labor is cheaper than the Negro labor, it may add to the perplexity of the labor problem.



## BOOK REVIEWS

THE PROBLEM OF MONOPOLY. By John Bates Clark, LL. D. Cloth; 128 pages. \$1.25 net. The Macmillan Company, New York and London.

This book, the author tells us, is composed of a series of lectures delivered in Cooper Union, New York. Cooper Union audiences, it should be remembered, are impatient of anything in the line of economic and political science that is not pessimistic and of a socialistic flavor.

Professor Clark is essentially an economist of eclectic character. His thinking is mainly from the point of view of the German school, with a pronounced English Free-trade background. This, together with the socialistic sentiments of his audiences, may account for the curiously composite character of his lectures. His reasoning in the abstract, his fear of monopoly, and his reliance on competition as the infallible solvent for economic problems is the legitimate fruit of the Manchester school of economics. His apparent readiness for government regulations of industry, though quite inconsistent with the *laissez-faire* theory, is natural to the German school and the suggestion of public ownership is entirely in harmony with the spirit of the Cooper Union audiences. The lectures, delivered under such conditions, are less convincing and satisfactory, from the scientific point of view, than anything we have yet seen from Professor Clark's pen. From first to last he shows willingness to assume, without proof, that large corporations are monopolies, that monopolies have no motives but to injure labor and exact extortionate prices from the public. While these statements are often put in interrogatory form, the intent is not less apparent.



"Can we save our democracy under a new form?" he asks. "Can we make their economic action beneficent, inducing low prices and high wages, instead of high prices and low wages?"

These questions clearly suggest that the author believes that large corporations are endangering our democratic institutions and threatening our liberties, that they are raising prices and lowering wages. To say the least, this is not the most satisfactory way of conveying the idea. If Professor Clark believes this, it would have been more convincing to have made some effort to prove the truth of the proposition. He says:

"If the Standard Oil Company did not stop the outflow of raw oil from the wells, it would be quite natural that the price of both raw oil and refined should go down, even though the monopoly was getting a stiff toll for refining and carrying it."

If he had undertaken to verify this statement he would not have made it. The Standard Oil Company may have sins enough to hang the whole country, it may even be as bad as Professor Clark imagines; but the one thing that it does not do is "stop the outflow of raw oil from the wells." On the contrary, it does everything to encourage the free outflow of raw oil. It does what no other company in the world does regarding its raw material—it stands ready to buy and carry off every barrel of oil that every producer can furnish, however small his output; nay more, it connects the wells of the poorest well-owner with its pipe line system and gives him the same price that it gives every other producer, and, if he wishes it, pays him cash for every gallon he produces. The Standard Oil Company thus creates the only market in the world where the smallest dealer is on an absolute equality with the largest. Nothing short of taking things for granted and assuming the worst can explain such a state-



ment, especially from so careful a thinker as Professor Clark.

Again, he assumes that monopoly is necessarily bad; that large corporations, or 'trusts,' are monopolies whose sole object is to raise prices and lower wages. He says:

It is a natural tendency of all monopolies to raise the prices of their goods. They shut up some mills in order to keep down the supply and make a large profit on whatever they offer for sale. What would a trust do if it were a complete monopoly? Of course we can look into recent history and see what the trusts have done, and we shall then find that they actually have put up prices.

This accords with the spirit of the Cooper Union audiences and popular prejudice against large corporations; but, for that very reason, it is all the more important that it should not be taken for granted. Whenever such a statement is affirmed by a public educator we have the right to ask that it be substantiated. Trusts, generally, have not raised prices. There have been individual cases where corporations have endeavored to use their power arbitrarily to force up prices, but this has not in the long run succeeded, nor has it been at all characteristic of large corporations. The movement of staple prices of products during the last dozen or fifteen years show that the contrary is true. In no line of industry have the so-called trusts been more prevalent than in iron and steel, and nowhere has the tendency of prices, consistently with economic conditions, been more steadily downward. Small producers seldom lower prices. As a rule, they keep prices up. Mr Clark admits that investigation has shown that the trusts pay good wages and give constant employment. Then, as if determined to doubt that any good could come out of Nazareth, he says:

Should we, however, be satisfied with evidence of this nature as a complete proof that the trust is good for wage-earners? Clearly not. What it shows is that, inside of the domain of the trust, there may be good places in which to



work, but that outside of it the field can not possibly be as good as it would otherwise be. For if the trust shuts up some of its own mills and sends men elsewhere, they certainly can not earn as much as they have been earning. It is, therefore, the nature of monopoly to reduce wages as well as to raise prices.

Could any reasoning be worse? If trusts paid lower wages than other employers, they would, of course, be damned for that, but it was hardly to be expected that when they are known to pay higher wages, they would be damned for that also. This is the first time since the days of the wage-fund theory, that a serious economist has insisted that high wages in some concerns make low wages in others. Yet, as if this were quite obvious, he says: "It is, *therefore*, the nature of monopoly to reduce wages as well as raise prices."

If this were true, raising wages by some concerns would always be bad for labor, because it would reduce wages in all other concerns. Now, as a matter of fact, it does nothing of the kind, and never did. On the contrary, all advances in wages during the last hundred years have come in just that way. Wages rise first here, and then there, and then somewhere else. The rising in one industry is followed by a rise in another until the cycle is completed, and a rise is gained in the whole country.

For the evils of trusts Mr Clark has sundry remedies. He urges the abolition of discrimination in freight charges, with which everybody will agree. He assumes that large corporations get their freight, for similar quantities, at much less rates than their competitors, but he furnishes no proof. It may be true, but it can not be taken for granted. He also suggests the legalizing of railroad pooling because, as our author says, pooling removes the chief temptation to make secret arrangements. Then, on the assumption that the chief motive of railroads is to squeeze the public, he suggests that,



under legal pooling all railroad charges would be uniform. They might, and probably would, be uniformly high. "A carrier," he says, "with carte blanche to make charges all alike high could get very rich. He could charge double or quadruple rates to everybody." The remedy for this is for the State to fix the maximum rates to be charged, which is government-regulation of railroads.

Another remedy suggested for trust extortion is to remove the tariff from all trust-made products. This suggestion might have been expected from an ordinary Free-trader, but something better was to be expected of a careful economist of Professor Clark's standing. He seems to regard competition as the soul of honest industry, yet it is doubtful if anything would more effectively destroy competition, by killing off the small independent competitors, than the adoption of this remedy. Take, for instance, the iron and steel industry. To remove the tariff from its products would be to remove it from all the industries in iron and steel throughout the country. Now, if it be true that, because of their larger capital and organizations and their greater command of raw material and transportation facilities, they can make greater profits than their competitors, how would the removal of the tariff affect them without affecting the smaller competitors to a greater degree? Suppose all iron and steel products are put on the free list and compelled to face foreign competition; who will be driven out first? Manifestly, those whose profits are the smallest. It will not be the Carnegies, Fricks, or the United States Steel Corporations; it will be the smaller competitors who have not as good labor-saving facilities. If this process did kill the trusts or reduce their profits to a narrow margin, it would not do so until it had killed all the smaller ones. Thus the Free-trade remedy, instead of increasing effective competition, would probably destroy the very competitors that are



necessary to wholesome conditions, and leave the field to the trusts and foreign competitors.

Professor Clark finally suggests the government ownership of railroads. He says:

The chief problem in regulating railroads is how to prevent them from building up other corporations to the point where they gain a monopolistic power. Now it seems as though the simplest way to prevent this would be to take possession of the railroads and run them in the name of the people, charging fair freight and passenger rates and making them uniform to all the people. If this were done there would be an end of discriminating freight charges and of their natural consequences: the building up of big corporations at the cost of little ones. We should free the field, not of great consolidations, but rather of the menace that is in the consolidations. We should have to leave the trusts, but we should take away their power for evil.

Thus, after a most circuitous route, he lands in the socialistic camp, and, like Mr Bryan, thinks Free Trade and government ownership of railroads the remedy for the evils of monopoly.

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PROTECTION AND PROGRESS. (A study of the economic bases of the American protective system.) By John P. Young, Editor of the San Francisco Chronicle. Cloth; 585 pages. The American Protective Tariff League, New York.

In many respects this is one of the best books on Protection that have been published in this country. Mr Young's key-note is that Protection prevents waste and promotes true economic industry. This point has been made by many writers, but it has never before received the consideration to which it is entitled. The key-note of all Free-trade reasoning is immediate and temporary cheapness. For this it would sacrifice every future advantage. According to this reasoning, if a nation can import goods from the other side of the globe cheaper than it can make them, it



should always buy, and never try to produce, such goods. This is the essence of the doctrine to "buy in the cheapest, and sell in the dearest market." This is essentially the doctrine of the barbarian. True economic and political philosophy looks into the future. It attaches more importance to ultimate results than to temporary advantages. The fact that by the application of protection new industries may be developed in the home country, and goods that can be now had more cheaply by shipping them half around the globe can ultimately be produced cheaper at home, finds no place in the doctrine of *laissez-faire*; yet this is the true philosophy of industrial and national development. No nation makes great progress without the development of manufacturing and diversified industries. Not even agriculture reaches its highest development in purely agricultural countries. The reason for this is obvious, namely, that the development of manufactured goods immensely increases the market for agricultural products and the introduction of improved methods of machinery in agriculture as well as in manufacture. This is the necessary result of the growing inventive genius of the nation, which only diversified industries can develop.

It is one of the vital indictments against the Free-trade policy that it sacrifices future development and economy to present crude cheapness. This point Mr Young has brought out and developed in a most convincing manner. In addition to citing in a concrete and intelligent way the superiority of ultimate cheapness and sound economic development, Mr Young has fortified his position by an able and lucid appeal to history. The best and earliest lessons in Protection are taught by England herself.

To read Mr Young's book is a liberal education in economic history and industrial development. It is weighted with pertinent information and lucid and convincing reason-



ing. It is a book that every American citizen should read before he casts his next vote for President. It is doubtful if any other book on Protection published in this country contains as much good sense and solid information on the subject. The Tariff League has rendered a service to the public in publishing Mr Young's work.

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THE MODERN BANK. By Amos Fiske. Cloth; 338 pages. \$1.50 net. D. Appleton & Co.

This is an exceedingly valuable book, not because of its contribution to the science of finance, but for the immense amount of practical information it furnishes. Nearly all books on money and banking are devoted to some theoretic discussion of finance or banking. Mr Fiske has undertaken a different task; it is to tell the reader all about what the modern bank does and how it does it; and he has done his work well. There are few persons who have not some opinion on the theory of money, but there is a wonderfully large percentage of the people who know practically nothing about the actual working of a bank. If one should ask the average business man to explain the transactions of the Clearing House, or Foreign Exchange, it is more than probable that nineteen out of twenty would be unable to make an intelligent reply, although in his business relation he deals with banks every day.

Mr Fiske's book has forty-two chapters, each devoted to explaining some phase or department of the modern bank, and to make the explanations more intelligible the text is accompanied by thirty-six illustrations showing various bills, notes, and certificates used in the various kinds of bank transactions. Throughout the book Mr Fiske has kept the text true to the title "The Modern Bank."

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THE UNITED STATES AND PORTO RICO, with special reference to the problems arising out of our contact with the



Spanish-American civilization. By L. S. Rowe, Ph. D. Longmans, Green, & Co., New York and London. Cloth, 261 pages, with index; \$1.40.

This is a work by an authority on the subject. Professor Rowe holds the chair of Political Science in the University of Pennsylvania, and qualified particularly for writing a work on Puerto Rico by having served as a member of the Commission on the laws of that island and also as chairman of the Code Commission. The book may be accepted as entirely authoritative and satisfactory within its scope, and is perhaps the most valuable work that has yet appeared dealing with the Island.

Professor Rowe somewhat magnifies the need for a work dealing with certain aspects of American interests in the West Indies and seems to think that very little interest has been taken in this country in the Caribbean islands. He says that since the disappearance of the temptation to acquire territory in that sea for purposes of extending slavery, the West Indies "have not been a factor in the public policy of the United States." This is not altogether true, and certain recent events have made it still less true. This country has coveted Cuba and Santo Domingo for generations, and if the open policy of the country has not been directed toward the acquisition of these and other islands in the Caribbean it has nevertheless been true that the eyes of almost every administration has rested lustfully upon the gem of the Antilles. There seems little doubt that if we had been able to do so, without grossly violating our open pledge, we should have held Cuba after expelling the Spaniards. We were eager enough to hold Puerto Rico and the two or three little islands it mothers. We have made repeated though covert attempts to establish a foothold upon Santo Domingo, and have at least established the policy of taking it some day. With respect to Cuba again, we clung



with the utmost tenacity to the miserable little Isle of Pines out of mere greed for land. The whole course of the present administration in its relations with Santo Domingo and Colombia and Panamá has, indeed, revealed not only the utmost interest in Caribbean lands but an apparent policy to extend our national boundaries at least as far south as Panamá, and possibly to Magellan. In view of this predatory policy, it can hardly be said with truth that the Caribbean islands "have not been a factor in the public policy of the United States."

Professor Rowe goes with great care and detail into the Insular decisions, which, through a perfect cross-fire of opinions, finally and with difficulty established the status of Puerto Rico and the Philippines. Any one who wishes to get at the drift of these decisions and at the complex results obtained could not do better than consult this work.

One of the first apparent results of the Americanization of Puerto Rico was the stimulated interest in politics. Parties sprang up like mushrooms, and all the Spanish impetuosity of character was turned like a mill race into political discussion. Professor Rowe says that it is carried to the extent of personal antagonism and irreconcilable conflicts and the arraying of families against one another and the severance of family ties. This description would apply to New York or Pennsylvania, and shows how deeply has penetrated the essence of American institutions.

The most interesting, and possibly the most valuable, part of this book is the chapter devoted to the political retrospect and prospect. The problem that Professor Rowe has in mind is "whether, after the conclusion of the period of reconstruction and reorganization, it will be possible to hand over to the inhabitants complete control of their affairs." He calls attention to the fact that the Puerto-Ricans are expecting and demanding not only a territorial status but statehood, and says: "This demand for territorial status will



become steadily more insistent as the competition between the political patries for popular favor grows more keen. Continued refusal to concede this point is likely to be accompanied by increasing discontent, which may ultimately culminate in serious difficulties for those intrusted with the executive direction of Insular affairs."

So far as granting statehood is concerned, this does not seem even remotely probable, unless, for reasons now inconceivable, citizens of the United States should flock to the Island and become the dominant portion of the population. Never will the United States grant statehood to a region in which the major portion of the population is Latin, Hawaiian, or Filipino. This seems to be about as definitely settled as is any part of our public policy.

The author concludes with what may be taken as a warning as well as a prophecy. He says:

The lessons that we are learning will be of service to us in the larger tasks that are before us. Future generations will look upon the experience acquired in the administration of civil affairs in Porto Rico as a period of training and preparation for the problems involved in our relations with the Spanish-speaking peoples of the American continent.

Evidently Professor Rowe has in his vision a greater United States that will embrace all the Latin-American countries of Central and South America. Otherwise there would be no reason for us to devote so much time to the lesson of administering Spanish-American affairs; and in his vision, the author looks backward over a period of acquisition in which we absorbed the two continents of the Western Hemisphere.

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THE TERRITORIAL ACQUISITIONS OF THE UNITED STATES, 1787-1904. An Historical Review. By Edward Bicknell. Cloth; 144 pages. Small, Maynard, & Co., Boston, Mass.

This is an exceedingly useful little volume for reference



and general reading. In no other form, that we know of, can the same information be had so compactly and conveniently. The present (3d) edition brings the story of American imperialism and conquest down to the Sabine incursion into Panamá.

The author shows commendable zeal in trying to keep pace with the double-quick of American conquest. As he says in his conclusion, "there has been hardly a year since the acquisition of Louisiana, certainly not since the Mexican War, when the annexation of some island or country has not been proposed or discussed." With this glorious record in view, Mr Bicknell, it is conceivable, will have to issue an edition of his little volume every year, having its limits expand contemporaneously and co-equally with the expanding bounds of America. Every island acquired means another edition, until within the covers of his book, as within the borders of the land of the free, may be found every tribe and nation.

It is apparent that the work on the earlier edition was a labor of love, when the annalist had to record only the natural expansion of a robustious young country, when the Thirteen Colonies overflowed into the Northwest territory, to the south beyond the Mississippi to the Rio Grande, and again to the far northwest into the dreary region where rolls the Oregon. It was still a labor of love when he could record the bloodless conquest of Alaska, the American eagle confining the circuit of his flight to his native continent. But there came a time when there had to be recorded alien, distant, and unprovoked conquests. It must have been painful to the writer to record in the same book the natural expansion to the west on our highway to the Pacific, and the lustful conquest of the Philippines and, alas! Panamá. The author confesses as much when he says on page 137: "The story of our conquest of territory is not all creditable to us. It shows that the type of humanity which our institutions



have evolved has been ready, as have the powers of the Old World, in the name of our country to wrong other peoples weaker than ourselves." It is a pitiful confession for an American historian to make.

It is to be regretted, however that the spirit in which this confession is made is violated in the feeble attempt to excuse the holding of the Philippines and the violation of our treaty with Colombia. On page 113 Mr Bicknell says that "apparently a fear of excesses by insurgent troops, not justified by subsequent events, governed our general, as well as the then known wish of our government, to refrain from all alliance with them." This means that our government and our commanders in the Philippines refrained from forming an alliance with the Filipinos. This is one of the many subterfuges made necessary or expedient to excuse imperialistic zeal. Upon it was founded much of the sentiment in favor of the conquest and retaining of the Philippines.

The concluding words seem to be a weak acquiescence in great wrongs. We quote as follows: "Our great duty now is to consider well the acquisitions we do make, and to treat in accordance with the ideals and principles which have animated our truest patriots and wisest statesmen the people who come under our flag. If these people are not fitted to be citizens of self-governing states, all the more do we hold their welfare and happiness and development in our hands; and our duty to them is a trust we can not abuse if we would be true to our ideals and the hopes of humanity."

It seems too evident to be asserted that if we are wrongfully in a position it is our duty to withdraw. Also, that it is not for us to say if certain peoples are entitled to self-government. It is also evident that the highest duty, both to ourselves and to our 'wards,' whether in the Philippines or elsewhere, is to leave them to the enjoyment of the same liberty for which we so ardently yearned and so heroically struggled in 1776.



## PROGRESS OF THE MONTH

**The Political Situation** The situation in national politics has changed very little during the month. President Roosevelt has given out his letter of acceptance, which is an unusually long and strong document. It is one of the most controversial and personal state papers in American politics. Judge Parker's letter is awaited with general interest, although it is supposed that he has expressed his general opinions and shown his personal point of view pretty fully in his speech of acceptance and in his address to the delegation of American editors that visited him at Esopus.

The Republican leaders are instituting a more active campaign than the Democrats, and Senator Fairbanks and Speaker Cannon are making an energetic canvas in the West.

The importance of New York to both parties in this election is so great that State affairs are for the moment of national significance. Both parties have nominated a State ticket. The Republican convention in Saratoga on September 15 nominated Frank Wayland Higgins for Governor and M. Linn Bruce for Lieutenant-governor. The Democratic convention, which also met at Saratoga, nominated on September 21 Judge Donald Cady Herrick for Governor and Francis Burton Harrison for Lieutenant-governor. Mr. Higgins was elected Lieutenant-governor in 1902. The nomination of Herrick was brought about by a compromise after a heated controversy among the various factions. He was the choice of Judge Parker and William F. Sheehan, and David B. Hill agreed to sink his political grievance against Judge Herrick so as to make his nomination possible.

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**International Congress of Geographers** One of the most interesting events in the scientific world during this year has been the meeting of the International Congress of Geographers in Washington and other cities of this country. It is not what this Congress does so much as what it



represents—what its distinguished members have done—that makes its meetings important. It is composed of men who are silently changing the map of the world and doing their work far more effectively than armies and navies. For instance, Count Pfeil who attended the Congress, told how he and a few companions, going to Africa in disguise, had succeeded in adding to the German Empire a territory more extensive than the German lands in Europe. Such men as Stanley and Speke and Sven Hedin are constantly enlarging the bounds of human knowledge and revealing the mysteries of the earth's surface. Not a year passes by without great changes being made necessary on our maps by the quiet but splendid and brave work of these explorers. It is gratifying to Americans that the President of the Congress was Commander Peary who has done so much in the field of Arctic explorations, and who is now planning another campaign against the North Pole. It is the first time that the Congress has met in the United States and it will probably not meet in this country again in this generation.

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**American Supremacy  
in Cotton**

The supremacy of the United States in the cotton crop of the world seems to be threatened. It is not for nothing that the South has held to the theory that cotton was king, and it has been practically a despot in the agricultural world for years. While other crops may overshadow it in the mere amount of money they bring in, the influence of the cotton crop has long been paramount. This is probably due to the fact that the crop is concentrated to a large extent in one region—the Southern States of this country.

What now menaces the continued supremacy of the cotton crop of the United States is the boll-weevil, and the stimulus given to the production of the crop elsewhere by the excessively high price of cotton during the past year. The boll-weevil may be soon exterminated, and doubtless its depredations will be successfully checked and confined to a limited area, if not entirely put an end to. The Agricultural Department, however, is not at all optimistic, and regards the boll-weevil as a menace to the entire cotton crop of the South.

The impetus given to the culture of cotton in other regions of the world is, however, a more serious menace. Cot-



ton can be raised over a much greater area of the world's surface than the Southern planters generally supposed. It can be grown in the Latin-American States of the south, over the entire Sudan and Egypt and elsewhere in Africa, throughout India, Indo-China, Southern China, and even in portions of the Japanese empire, and in the southernmost provinces of Russia's Asiatic dominions. In fact the area outside of the United States suitable to the cultivation of cotton vastly exceeds the area within the boundaries of the United States.

The chief refuge of the Southern planter will be found in the superior grade of the cotton he grows, and this superiority will have to be maintained if cotton is to be grown as a successful crop. For some purposes the Egyptian cotton is better than ours, and for other purposes the cotton produced in China or India, or possibly in Russia, serves equally well. It is in the higher grades that the Southern planter will have to fight to hold his ground. It will be quite a different situation when the cotton crop of the world is doubled or trebled, as now seems likely within the next few years, and when an intelligent effort will be made to improve both the yield and the quality. England is encouraging the cultivation of cotton throughout West Africa, the Sudan, Egypt, and India; Japan is encouraging it in Formosa and Shikoku and Kyushu; China is encouraging it in her southern provinces; and Russia in her provinces in Central Asia. Cotton may also be grown successfully, it is said, upon an area of something like 20,000,000 acres around Lake Nyasa. It may well be considered, therefore, that the cotton crop of this country may not long hold its very enviable position in commerce.

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**Cotton Consumption  
in China**

The production and consumption of cotton in China is a subject that has not yet received due attention from American Consuls or American men of business. There seems little doubt that China is producing more and more cotton yearly to meet the increasing demands of her population, and that it is probable, in spite of the usual slow growth of things in the Celestial Empire, that a few years will see an enormous increase in the cotton crop. The American Cotton Manufacturer, in its current issue, calls attention to some inter-



esting facts and figures in connection with Chinese cotton production and consumption. According to this paper the present crop of China is somewhere between 1,000,000 and 12,000,000 bales a year, the actual crop being, it is supposed, about 10,000,000 bales. All of this is practically used in China. It is also estimated that when the use of cotton cloth develops a little further, the Chinese will need 13,600,000 spindles. In 1900, when the United States had a population of 76,000,000, our mills used 3,435,000 of standard bales of cotton. Taking these figures as a basis, the American Cotton Manufacturer estimates that the 'open door' in China will give to the cotton manufacturers of the world an opportunity for 80,000,000 more spindles.

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#### Peace and War

There is not a more remarkable movement today than that in favor of universal peace.

It would seem, if we did not know the ugly facts of modern imperialism, as if a great wave of peace sentiment were rolling over the world. And yet nothing is more inconsistent with the real spirit and practise of the times than a movement looking toward general peace. In the light of the unbroken record of brutal conquest by Great Britain, Germany, Russia, France, Italy, and the United States, the Inter-parliamentary Peace Congress at St Louis seems as ephemeral and unsubstantial as one of the sideshows of the 'Pike.' It is such an easy and such a showy thing to prate about peace, while the military powers are doing everything they can to extend havoc and conquest.

It is significant that, with two exceptions, Jesus and Tolstoy, all of the advocates of universal peace have really been as bloodstained and insatiable fighters as the most strenuous and Cæsarian of conquerors. For Henry of Navarre, the hero of Ivry and a dozen other sanguinary fights; for the Tsar Alexander, who was quite willing to wade in blood to greater power; and for Nicolas, the present Tsar, who is waging a useless and unholy war—for these to talk of peace arouses feelings of disgust and suspicions of hypocrisy. In the midst of these exalted movements for peace, the Tsars have marched forward in streams of blood to the conquest of Poland, Turkey, Finland, and



dozens of helpless principalities in central Asia and Chinese provinces. The only peace that Russia knows—the only peace that she bestows or can have—is the kind of peace that she gave to Warsaw—the tranquillity of devastation.

As a plain matter of fact, the spirit of modern times is warlike and predatory. One has only to recall the long roll of British conquering expeditions, and the enormous wars that European nations have waged for the seizure of territory, and our own conquest of the Philippines, our needless war against Spain, and our armed intervention in Panamá, to understand the prevalence and the power of this spirit. No time in the history of the world has been less propitious for the meeting of a peace congress.

**England's Endless  
Wars of Conquest**

It rarely happens that the reader of the daily papers fails to see some account of a British predatory expedition. Whether it be in South Africa, East Africa, West Africa, Central Africa, the Sudan, Arabia, Tibet or in the isles of the seas, the British army and navy are continually annexing territory to the British empire. A French writer in the *Revue Bleue* has shown that every year since 1856 England has sent forth a military expedition to extend the bounds of her dominions, to strengthen her hold upon some weaker people, or to punish some revolt against her authority. The Frenchman gives the following list of these predatory or punitive expeditions:

1856-57, expedition to the Persian frontier; 1856-60, the third Chinese war; 1857-59, Indian mutiny; 1858, expedition to the northwest frontier of India; 1860-61, second war in New Zealand; 1861, the Sikkhim expedition; 1863, expedition to the northwestern frontier of India; 1863-65, third war in New Zealand; 1864-65, Bhotan expedition; 1865, insurrection in Jamaica; 1867, war with Abyssinia; 1868, expedition to the northwestern frontier of India; 1870, expedition to the Red River; 1871-72, expedition to the northwestern frontier of India; 1873, war with the Ashantis; 1875, expedition to Pirak; 1877-78, Jowakhi campaign; 1877-78, fourth war with the Kaffirs; 1878-79, war with the Zulus; 1878-79, war with the Basutos; 1878-80, second war with Afghanistan; 1880, expedition against the Basu-



tos; 1878-80, second war with Afghanistan; 1880, expedition against the Basutos; 1881, Transvaal insurrection; 1882, Egyptian expedition; 1885-89, expedition to Burmah; 1885-90, first campaign in the Sudan; 1888-93, expedition to the northwestern frontier of India; 1894, expedition to Central Africa; 1895, Chitral expedition; 1896, war in Matabeleland; 1897, second war with the Ashantis; 1897-99, expedition to the northwestern frontier of India; 1899-1900, second expedition to Sudan.

From 1884 to 1900 England added nearly 4,000,000 square miles to her territory and brought about 60,000,000 more people under her rule.

It will be seen that the list given by M. Bardoux in the French Review does not include the conquest of the South African republics nor recent expeditions into the Sudan against the Mahdi, the Boxer insurrection in China, nor the recent invasion of Tibet. These expeditions have kept up the annual record of Great Britain.

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**England Permanently  
in Tibet** As might have been foreseen even by the blind, the British have no intention of retiring from Tibet. The expedition against Lassa was undertaken without sufficient justification, was prosecuted with unnecessary bloodshed, and ends with the humiliation of Tibet and the beginning of what will unquestionably be the permanent domination of that country by England and the probable occupation of at least a portion of its territory. The treaty that Great Britain has extorted provides for open trade between Tibet and India, for the payment of an indemnity in three yearly instalments, and for the holding by British troops of a portion of Tibetan territory until the indemnity is paid. It also provides for the residence of a British adviser of the Dalai Lama at Lassa. This is a shameful end of a shameful expedition—both utterly discreditable to Great Britain.

There is no surprise at the report from Petersburg that Russia is displeased with the treaty. England has acted in bad faith by violating the integrity of China, and has ousted Russia, for the time being at least, from the Tibetan capital. The immediate effect of this will be the increased irritation of China and Russia; and there is little doubt that Russia,



as soon as she is well over the disasters of the war with Japan, will turn her attention to Tibet and Southern Asia. She will be the more inclined to this by reason of her failure in the Far East. If she is balked of her desires to gain open access to the Pacific, she will concentrate her energy to gain open ports on the Indian Ocean. It is not at all unlikely, therefore, that while England has scored a temporary advantage, she has laid a mine that will yet blow her out of her position in Central Asia if not in India itself. She will have yet to reckon with Russia, if not with China and Tibet, for this outrageous war carried on under the hypocritical guise of peace.

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**Russia Yields on  
Contraband**

At the beginning of this war Russia assuming that she could either gain the mastery of the sea or could maintain her cruisers in Japanese waters, made out a list of contraband of war that suited her own purposes although it violated the recognized principles of international law and outraged the plain rights of neutral commerce. Among the articles made contraband were provisions and fuel consigned to Japanese ports. Among all civilized nations at the present day these articles are in the class known as conditionally contraband, that is, they become contraband if supplied to the belligerent forces; but they are never contraband when supplied to private citizens of the belligerents. Russian cruisers seized a great deal of coal and provisions in Far Eastern waters and sank the Knight Commander because it had contraband aboard. Both the United States and England protested vigorously against this inclusion of provisions and fuel among articles contraband of war. After evasion and delay, Russia has finally yielded and instructed her naval commanders that provisions not directly intended for belligerent uses, is not contraband and must not be molested.

In the case of the Knight Commander, Great Britain has demanded reparation for the sinking of the ship; but Russia still delays a settlement. It is quite probable that had England not been the ally of Japan, she would have dispatched a fleet to the Baltic and made a demand upon Russia that would have been complied with instantly.

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**Imperial Superstition  
and Prayers**

The war between Russia and Japan has possibly made more 'revelations' than any war in history. It has revealed Japan as a great world-power and the most courageous and successful fighter of modern times. But the principal revelations have been as to Russian weakness, incapacity, and superstition. Nothing has been more remarkable, indeed, than the pitiful display of superstition on the part of the general Russian public and of the Tsar himself. The papers have been filled with accounts of the Emperor's expecting miracles performed for his particular benefit. A recent exhibition of blindness and an uncontrite heart is revealed in the imperial ukase ordering prayers throughout the empire for God to confound the Japanese. The Official Messenger publishes the resolution of the Holy Synod from which the following 'Christian' sentiment is taken:

"By virtue of an imperial ukase to the effect that during the present trials of our dear country, more ardent prayers should be offered for the victory of the Russian troops, who are worshipers of Christ, over a cruel enemy full of guile."

The condition of mind and heart that could expect a supreme being to answer prayer that contains such a preposterous lie as this is one that makes possible not only the military disasters of Russia but of the continued degradation of its people.

**Kuropatkin's Failure  
as a Commander**

Naturally the Russians are trying to minimize the terrific defeat that they suffered at Liao-yang, and, in order to do so, pretend that, by extricating his army from a perilous situation, General Kuropatkin has made one of the most masterly retreats in history and established his reputation as a commander. With correct understanding of the position and relative forces of the two armies, it is impossible to conceive that the Japanese should have annihilated the Russian army or that Kuropatkin emerged from the rout of his forces with any credit to himself. As a matter of fact the Russian commander is today a discredited general; and the Russian army must be regarded as a force that was badly beaten and driven from impregnable positions by an equal or very slightly superior force of a despised enemy.



In forming any estimate of the ability of Kuropatkin or of Marshal Oyama, as exhibited in the battle of Liao-yang, the situation must be thoroughly understood. It will be remembered that the Russians expected Kuropatkin to win a decisive victory and to hurl back the tide of Japanese and release Port Arthur by the advance of his victorious troops. The Russians are certainly good at making fortifications if they are bad at holding them. At every point they have made magnificent entrenchments, beautifully planned, and beautifully executed. The military critics, Russian or non-Russian, have pronounced them impregnable in the face of a largely superior force. Such were the fortifications at the Yalu, Nan-shan, at Anping, and at Liao-yang. At this last point, indeed, Kuropatkin had spent a year, and other Russian officers several years, in making the most elaborate fortifications and supplying them with exhaustless stores of ammunition and provisions. Here, if ever, he was to stand and win.

Opposed to Kuropatkin were three Japanese armies comprising one grand army under Field-marshal Oyama. It must be admitted that the Japanese were led by three as brilliant generals as have commanded armies since the days of Napoleon—Generals Kuroki, Nodzu, and Oku—and above them was a captain noted for his great strategic ability. If we leave out of consideration the brilliant turning movement of Kuroki, the battle of Liao-yang was fought by two-thirds of the Japanese forces against the entire force of the Russians. This inferior force of Japanese struck directly at the Russian front, day after day, gradually slipping around to left and right, and gradually driving in wedges of battalions at critical points, until it was evident that the Russians had been beaten by inferior numbers and would be compelled to abandon their impregnable position. At this juncture, Japanese guns were heard beyond the Taitse on the Russian left; and Kuropatkin suspected for the first time that Kuroki had again made a brilliant flanking movement. From that instant the battle became a rout. Russian troops were hurriedly withdrawn to meet a new situation created by the brilliant Japanese, Liao-yang abandoned with stores of provisions and ammunition, and the whole efforts of the officers were devoted to saving the army from annihilation.



Now, an able general would have done one of two things that Kuropatkin did not do; he would have foreseen and prepared for the turning movement that Kuroki executed against his left flank; or, if Kuroki had succeeded in crossing the Tai-tse, a really skilful commander would have crushed him by hurling upon him superior forces, and thus turn the Japanese victory into a Japanese rout. As Kuropatkin did neither of these things, and as he was driven out of his chosen position by practically an inferior force, and was unable to anticipate or to check the Japanese turning movement, he must be denied any credit for the part he took in the battle of Liao-yang and must inevitably lose in reputation. On the other hand, all the Japanese officers, from Marshal Oyama down, have won additional laurels by the brilliancy of their leadership and the great success of their plans.

#### **Principal Events in the War from August 22 to September 21**

August 22.—The Japanese renew assaults upon Port Arthur.

August 25.—Reports from Chifu that the Japanese have captured all important positions at Port Arthur except three inner fortresses. Russian warships at Shanghai disarm and will remain in that port until the end of the war.

August 26.—The great battle of Liao-yang begins with Kuroki's attack on the Russian left.

August 28.—The Russians are driven from their outer lines and into the inner fortifications of Liao-yang after three days' fighting.

September 1.—Kuroki makes a brilliant turning movement across the Tai-tse, and attacks the Russian left, compelling Kuropatkin to abandon Liao-yang in rout.

September 4.—Kuropatkin succeeds in extricating his army and falling back upon Mukden. This ended the great series of actions known as the battle of Liao-yang, which began August 26 and lasted till September 4, making ten days of incessant struggle. The Japanese forces amounted to something like 200,000, and the Russians to practically the same number. The Japanese report their losses as about 17,000, and the Russians report theirs as something under 17,000. Reports from Harbin and Mukden, however, indicate a far greater number of Russian casualties.

September 11.—The Russian cruiser *Lena* arrives at San Francisco.

September 15.—This government orders the *Lena* disarmed and to remain in San Francisco until the end of the war.

September 21.—Outpost fighting at the coal mines of Fu-shun, 30 miles east of Mukden. The Japanese invest the city and the Russian army with a line more than 60 miles long from Fu-shun to Sin-min-tun.—Reports indicate that the Japanese have now captured and hold positions that make untenable all the Russian forts at Port Arthur.



# GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

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## JUDGE PARKER'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE

JUDGE PARKER'S letter of acceptance deepens the impression made by his notification speech and his address to the Editors' Conference. It was not to be expected that it would rival Mr Roosevelt's in point or in brilliancy, but the public had a reasonable expectation of something above commonplace. To say it is disappointing is to put it too mildly. The effort of the friendly portion of the press to say something good about it is really pathetic. It is impossible for the most skilful editors to pick out more than a sentence here and there for praise, and they are forced to the painful necessity of commending its "quiet tone" and "peaceful constitutional spirit." Even the New York Journal of Commerce (an ardent Parker advocate) admits "that it may be almost characterized as tame, not to say commonplace."

It is not essential that the President shall be brilliant, dominantly aggressive, or personally profound; he need only be the representative of a sane, safe, and stable party, with a platform that insures a wholesome and conservative public policy. But, unfortunately, Judge Parker is the candidate of an erratic, business-wrecking party, which has been unsafe to the danger point on almost every question of national importance. It is important, therefore, if that party is to be given another trial, that its candidate should be more than averagely strong, clear, and statesmanlike. The only thing that has seemed to indicate that he had these qualities was his 'gold telegram' to the St Louis Convention. Nothing he has said or done since has fulfilled the promise of strength that telegram indicated. His letter of acceptance, which is



his supreme effort in presenting himself to the American people, reveals none of the qualities of real leadership.

It was the hope of the country that on the vital question of public policy Judge Parker would be saner than his party, that he would rise to a higher plane of statesmanship than did the builders of the St Louis platform. In this he has completely failed. On no question has he risen above the Bryanized platform, and in the discussion of many questions he is distinctly inferior to many of the St Louis delegates. Even on general questions, like 'imperialism,' where his party is substantially sound, he lacks force and definiteness.

The issue of imperialism which has been thrust upon the country involves a decision whether the law of the land or the rule of individual caprice shall govern. The principle of imperialism may give rise to brilliant, startling, dashing results; but the principle of democracy holds in check the brilliant Executive and subjects him to the sober, conservative control of the people.

The sentiment of this is well enough, but it says nothing. It is very much like saying that bad things are bad. Everybody agrees that the "law of the land" and not "individual caprice" should govern; yet the last Democratic President put his personal caprice above Congress and public sentiment, and appointed a personal representative to Hawaii without the consent and in defiance of the Senate. He sent him to Hawaii to undo the work of the people, and by "individual caprice" restored to the throne a queen whom the people had driven from power. A mere general protest against 'imperialism' by the very party that has been most conspicuously guided "by individual caprice," can hardly be regarded as very significant. There is not much danger that Judge Parker would try to rule by "individual caprice," but there is great danger that he would acquiesce in any disturbing rashness of his party.

In expounding the principles of the law and the spirit of



the Constitution, Judge Parker is sound, if not strong; but when dealing with any specific phases of the party policy he loses all the characteristics of a leader or even of a student, and becomes a repeater of stock partizan phrases. Thus in speaking of the traff he says:

It secures to domestic manufacturers, singly or in combination, the privilege of exacting excessive prices at home and prices far above the level of sales made regularly by them abroad with profit, thus giving a bounty to foreigners at the expense of our own people.

Nothing could more clearly reveal ignorance of the facts as well as of the general principles of business than this hackneyed statement about selling cheaper abroad than at home. Judge Parker and his supporters can not furnish any evidence to sustain this statement. It is undoubtedly true that some concerns sell part of their product at a lower price abroad than at home; but it is not true, that they do this "regularly with profit." On the contrary, such sales, as everybody familiar with business knows, are made for the purpose of extending business into new markets, and for this purpose sales are usually made without profit and sometimes at a net loss.

Curious as it may seem to Judge Parker, such a policy is in accordance with good business principles. It helps to carry off the surplus product, which, if not sold, might involve a loss to the concern; and, if sold at a bare cost, it enables the concern to sell at home cheaper than would otherwise be possible, because the loss of a portion of the concern's output is, in effect, an addition to the cost of production of the whole. This is a regular feature of successful business. It is like the bargain counter, which often distributes goods at less than cost, because that is the most effectual way of advertizing the goods and the firm. It is the method by which traveling men try to get the trade away from their competitors, or to introduce their goods into new fields. The policy



of selling cheaper abroad than at home is a traditional practice of English exporters.

In stating the difference between the two parties on the tariff Mr Parker says:

The two leading parties have always differed as to the principle of customs taxation. Our party has always advanced the theory that the object is the raising of revenue for support of the Government, whatever other results may incidentally flow therefrom. The Republican party, on the other hand, contends that customs duties should be levied primarily for protection, so-called, with revenue as the subordinate purpose.

This is an excellent statement of the case, and nothing could more conclusively show the importance of not entrusting any revision of the tariff to the Democratic party, if the protective principle is to be maintained. Manifestly, any revision of the tariff by such a party would take all the protection out of it. This could easily be done by putting all the duty on non-competing articles and taking it off competing articles, and increasing the internal taxes. By this method protection could be entirely eliminated. That is what England has been doing.

Since this, as Judge Parker frankly says, is the theory of his party, and since, according to its platform, it is its avowed purpose, this is what must be expected if it is entrusted with power. If the American people want free trade, they should entrust the revision of the tariff to Judge Parker's party; but if they want the tariff revised consistently with maintaining protection, it is very clear that they can not entrust the job to Judge Parker and his friends. The attitude of the Republican party is, as Judge Parker says, to levy customs duties primarily for protection, with incidental revenue. The object of a protective duty is protection, and of a revenue duty is revenue. If a protective duty does not yield sufficient revenue, then revenue duties should be levied. Protective duties should be put upon com-



peting goods, regardless of revenue. The question is a simple and practical one, namely, Do the people want to abolish protection? If they do, then Judge Parker and a Democratic Congress should be elected. If protection is to be maintained, then tariff revision must be entrusted to those who believe in protection. There is nothing more absurd than the idea of entrusting the revision of a policy to the sworn enemies of the very principle upon which it rests. That would be like entrusting church reform to atheists.

If Judge Parker were an angel, if he were a great man, if he were a brilliant and a masterful leader, the doctrine he here proclaims on the tariff, together with the unqualified announcement of the platform, would but make him the more dangerous, because it would the more certainly insure the overthrow of the protective policy. With this doctrine, the more honest and the more able the man, the more dangerous he would be.

On the matter of trusts Judge Parker is evidently sounder than Mr Roosevelt. He believes in the efficiency of the common law to deal with monopolies. This is Mr Roosevelt's weak point. He wants too much special legislation; giving special powers to the Executive. The enactment of the law at his behest giving the Department of Commerce and Labor inquisitorial power to pry into the private affairs of corporations, and giving the President absolute authority to prosecute, is one of the worst features of the Roosevelt administration. No President should have such power, and least of all a President of Mr Roosevelt's temperament. That law should be repealed or modified, but unfortunately there is no hope of rational assistance in this direction from Judge Parker's party. The Democratic platform specifically calls for special legislation to "suppress." This is even more extreme and contrary to the spirit of the common law treatment of the subject than is Mr Roosevelt himself.



Of course Judge Parker favors reciprocity. Everybody does who is opposed to protection, because reciprocity is the most effective means at present of destroying protection. Theoretically, free-traders are opposed to special legislation, yet every free-trader in the land is an ardent advocate of reciprocity, which is the essence of special legislation, and they are thoroughly consistent because reciprocity is special legislation in favor of free trade. It is one of the most effective means of humbugging the American people on the tariff question that has ever been invented.

In his reference to McKinley and Blaine on reciprocity Judge Parker copies one of the most hypocritical features of the present campaign. Free-traders are quoting garbled passages from the utterances of McKinley and Blaine, as if they had the greatest respect for their opinions; whereas everybody knows that there were no epithets too vile to characterize the methods and policy of these two Republican leaders. McKinley was denounced for his ignorance and partizanship, and Blaine was hounded to death as a dishonest politician by these very people. Both Blaine and McKinley were greater, more honest, and more patriotic than their traducers would believe; but neither of them was such an *ex cathedra* authority on the tariff as these same enemies of protection now pretend to believe. Whatever Mr McKinley or Mr Blaine may have said at some particular time, under some peculiar condition, is of no material purpose in discussing the merits of protection and reciprocity. One thing is absolutely certain regarding them both, they were opposed to any kind of reciprocity that would have lessened the effectiveness of protection. If they suggested a practical measure that would have had that effect, it is because they did not see its full consequences. Any attempt to quote them in favor of any form of reciprocity that would injure American industry is a libel upon their memory. That Judge Parker



should descend to this kind of petty reasoning is more than disappointing.

On the Philippine question he is more satisfactory. He favors "doing for the Filipinos what we have already done for the Cubans," but he even qualifies this by an explanation that takes away much of its definiteness. He says: "I favor making the promise to them now that we shall take such action as soon as they are reasonably prepared for it." Who is to decide when they are prepared for it? Not the Filipinos. Is not this promising freedom with a string to it? There is no essential difference between this position and that of the Republicans. They both promise freedom and representative institutions as soon as the Filipinos are ready, and we are to be the judges of when they are ready. The simple truth of all this is that we shall give them freedom when we decide to do so, and the Filipinos are to have nothing to say about it. Yet in the circumstances, this is the only feasible position we can take. Our error in regard to the Philippines was due to the McKinley administration in taking the Islands. We have committed a blunder, and the best we can now do is to give the Filipinos all the opportunities possible for progressing toward a fitness for self-government; and on this Judge Parker has nothing better to recommend than what is already being done.

At first sight, Judge Parker's acceptance of Mr Roosevelt's challenge to reverse the famous pension order, looks like real courage; but, like his declaration on the Philippines, it is dissipated by modifying explanations. He says:

I accept the challenge and declare that if elected I will revoke that order. But I go further and say that, that being done, I will contribute my effort toward the enactment of a law to be passed by both houses of Congress and approved by the Executive that will give an age pension without reference to disability to the surviving heroes of the civil war.



He will revoke Mr Roosevelt's order, and then promises to accomplish the same thing in another way. This is a real case of bluff courage. Judge Parker did not dare squarely to oppose this increase of pensions, which is the real point of the opposition.

The real quality of Judge Parker's letter is epitomized in his own summary.

Shall economy of administration be demanded, or shall extravagance be encouraged?

Shall the wrongdoer be brought to bay by the people, or must justice wait upon political oligarchy?

Shall our Government stand for equal opportunity, or for special privilege?

Shall it remain a Government of law, or become one of individual caprice?

Shall we cling to the rule of the people, or shall we embrace beneficent despotism?

Could anything be more vague than these five carefully prepared propositions? They all have a pleasant jingle, but are entirely empty. Could anything be more meaningless than "Shall economy of administration be demanded, or shall extravagance be encouraged?" Economy where? Extravagance in what? And, pray, what is the meaning of "Shall the wrongdoer be brought to bay by the people, or must justice wait upon political oligarchy?" Such a question could be asked by anybody, regardless of his political views or personal character. There is not a specific idea in any one of these delphic utterances.

Judge Parker is unquestionably a nice gentleman, a careful lawyer, and an eminently respectable judge; but in the larger field of national statesmanship he is manifestly a novice. His two formal political utterances force the conclusion that in his case silence was golden.



## MASSACHUSETTS IN THE SENATE

BY THE death of Senator Hoar the nation has lost one of its truest statesmen and Massachusetts has lost one of her most distinguished representatives. Senator Hoar was one of the most patriotic and single-minded members of the Senate. He was one of the old type of statesmen. He had enough of the Puritan characteristics to place him absolutely beyond approach for aught but clear, open methods and patriotic policy. He believed in the Constitution, and understood it in letter and spirit. He was a thorough believer in, and absolutely true to, the democratic principles in our institutions.

He was a never-failing Republican, but he was more of a patriot than a partizan. He believed it to be the mission of the Republican party to uphold the rights of individual freedom at all hazards. Any seeming encroachment upon the principle of representation or personal rights always encountered his stern opposition, without regard to party. He was the one man in the Senate who could always be relied upon as the guardian of the Constitution. There are plenty of members in both House and Senate who will promptly rise in protest against the questionable doings of the opposite party; but it remained for Senator Hoar, in the spirit of true patriotism and statesmanship, to defend the Constitution and the spirit of democratic institutions against the attacks of his own party. He stood up alone among Republicans in the Senate to protest against our policy of conquest in the Philippines. He more than once raised his



voice against the usurpation by the Executive of the legislative functions of the government; and he was as prompt in objecting to the encroachments of President Roosevelt on the rights of the Senate as he was in criticizing President Cleveland for exceeding the rights of the Executive. In all this he frequently gave great offense to his colleagues; but his ability and high character always assured him the respect alike of the Senate, of the Executive, and of the people. He was an old-fashioned Republican, untainted by mugwumpery. He criticized his party, but never deserted it. He believed in the doctrines of the Republican party, and tried to hold it true to its principles. He is the last of a great line of distinguished statesmen who have made Massachusetts famous in the nation's history.

Senator Hoar's seat will be difficult to fill. Their are few men in public life in Massachusetts today who measure up to his standard. The old Bay State has many sons, like John D. Long, Ex-governor Crane, and Attorney-general Moody, who might easily compare with the average of ability in the Senate; but they lack that virile statesmanship for which Senator Hoar was conspicuous. He represented the Massachusetts of Webster and Sumner, the Massachusetts of virile Republicanism, of frank undisguised protection.

It may properly be said that the Massachusetts of today is not the Massachusetts of the days of Webster. The pronounced spirit of positive political principle for which it was famous and by which it acquired the leadership among the States has greatly declined during the last two decades. It seems gradually to have lost its political virility of thirty years ago, and has become the chief mugwump in the Republican party. More than any other State, Massachusetts was responsible for the election of Cleveland. It is true its electoral vote was cast for Blaine in 1884, and for Harrison in



1892; but she gave the chief impetus to the anti-protection sentiment that culminated in Harrison's defeat. The free-trade spirit of Harvard and the free raw-material demand set up by the manufacturers of Massachusetts, who wanted protection for what they sold and free trade for what they bought, furnished the back-bone to the anti-tariff agitation, which finally gave us the Cleveland régime. This same spirit is again conspicuous in Massachusetts politics, the only difference being that, instead of free raw materials, the demand now is for reciprocity. The Massachusetts of Webster, Sumner, and Hoar stood for an economic policy that embraced the interests of the whole nation. It stood for protection, not of local industries or special interests, but as a policy for broadening the opportunities for the industrial development of the nation.

Of course, the free-trade propaganda has been persistently directed against this doctrine. Since to advocate free trade openly was to lead a forlorn hope, the policy of the free-traders has been to attack protection in detail. The agitation for free raw materials of a dozen years ago and the present agitation for reciprocity are a part of the tactical policy of the enemies of protection. Both movements were aimed directly at protection. The purpose of both was to enlarge the free list, and to take protection from American products. It matters not by what name it is called, the result is the same. In both cases it increases the extent of free trade and diminishes the extent of protection to American industries. In both these movements Massachusetts has been conspicuous in the lead.

Among the names thus far mentioned of those who are fitted to occupy the seat of Senator Hoar and represent the constructive political spirit of Massachusetts, is that of General William F. Draper, of Hopedale. General Draper is of the same school of statesmanship as Hoar, Sumner,



and Webster. He is a man of wide experience and solid sense. By temperament, habit, and training he is a statesman. He combines, as few public men in this country do, the qualities of the practical industrial leader and the sound political philosopher. Besides being a successful manufacturer and developer of the most advanced productive methods that have contributed so much to this country's exceptional progress, he has the capacity for treating questions of public policy from the point of view of practical political philosophy. His attitude toward the labor question is liberal and sane. He is a protectionist who advocates protection as a national doctrine, not as a local expediency. He does not ask for protection to what he sells and free trade for what he buys. With him protection is part of the political philosophy that recognizes that the economic opportunities of the home market should be secured to home industries, that competition in the domestic market should always rest upon the wages of home labor—in other words, that foreign producers should never be permitted to compete in the domestic market of any country, without paying the equivalent of the domestic wages of that country. That is the only kind of protection doctrine that is worth having. If protection is to be a matter of dicker for the benefit of one industry at the expense of another, then it had better be abolished. It must rest on some equitable economic basis, or it can not last as a public policy. This is the kind of protection that Hamilton and Clay and Webster and the other great statesmen of the country stood for. It is the kind of protection that Massachusetts has stood for, and it is the doctrine of public policy that General Draper represents.

General Draper has had the experience of public life that especially fits him for the duties of United States Senator. In addition to being a successful business man, which has



brought him directly in touch with the spirit and methods of economic progress, he has had the advantage of an extended experience in Congress and in the diplomatic service, and he is just of the right age to retire from practical business and give the benefit of his experience to the public service.

All in all, there are few men in this country who, by temperament, ability, and experience are so well equipped to fill the seat of Senator Hoar and sustain the standard of Massachusetts in the Senate as General Draper.

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Since the above was written, Governor Bates has appointed Ex-governor Crane to fill the unexpired term of Senator Hoar, which is only for a few months as a full term successor will have to be elected by the next legislature. This will give the people of Massachusetts an opportunity to indicate their choice in the matter. It is hoped that when the time comes for making the selection, the friends of protection and liberal progressive policy will see to it that General Draper or someone of similar caliber is elected to represent Massachusetts in the United States Senate.



## SCRIBES AND PHARISEES

EVERY country has its scribes and Pharisees. Nobody likes them; nobody trusts them long; yet they seem to persist. Although they never become numerous, their tribe remains.

Perhaps the most conspicuous representative of this type of citizen in the United States is Carl Schurz. Every time an election comes around he issues forth like "a Daniel come to judgment," declares that everybody in power is incorrigibly bad, and asserts it to be the solemn duty of all who desire to save the republic to turn to some new and doubtful god. As might have been expected, Mr Schurz, by invitation of course, has written a letter to Mr James W. Pryor, General Secretary of the Parker Independent Clubs. In this letter from Bolton Landing he has made an *ex cathedra* pronouncement on the political wickedness of the Republican party in general and of Mr Roosevelt in particular.

Mr Schurz is a peculiar exemplar of political virtue. One would think from his preachments that he is a political messiah, entirely beyond the contaminating influences of party work and political office-holding, that he was a special messenger of the only economic gospel and political morality that can save the country from immediate ruin. If high-sounding phrases and jingling generalities were evidence Mr Schurz would surely be the high priest of a new era; but there is a homely adage that says actions speak louder than words. Mr Schurz has been in practical politics. Perhaps it is wicked to suggest that a prophet be judged by such a practical standard; but in this workaday world many persons insist that soundness of doctrine and consistency of conduct are as important in a political preacher as is ethical



sentiment. At their hands Mr Schurz would fare badly. Perhaps that is the reason that, despite his very formal political posing, he exercises such an insignificant influence upon public sentiment. For after all, nobody takes him seriously. The mugwump press heralds his effusions with their loudest trumpets, but he seems to make no lasting impression on the public mind.

There is something almost intuitional in the way the public detects a political poser. A man who appears only in the rôle of a highly evolved pessimist, seeing only evil, may well be distrusted. He has nothing of value to offer. He is a fault-finder and generally a false prophet. The average man is tempted to ask upon what meat doth this our Caesar feed, that he hath grown so great?

When Mr Schurz was in practical politics he was a very practical politician. As an expert office-getter he had no superior and few equals. With a great flourish of patriotism and ethical motive, he could change his district or his State in order to serve the public in office. But, like the traditional minister, he was always 'called' to a fatter position. He first went to Wisconsin, where he became a candidate for office as soon as he got his naturalization papers, always wanting the best in sight. He was finally content with nothing less than the governorship. Because he could not get it, he folded his tent and went to Missouri, where by the shrewd manipulation of the methods that nominate, he was sent to the United States Senate. It was these successive maneuvers in practical politics that led Wendell Phillips to call him a 'soldier of fortune.' In 1876 his ethical standards did not in the least interfere with his taking office in Hayes's cabinet, although the honesty of the count by which the election was determined was challenged and generally doubted. The party and particularly the men with whom he now associates still call the administration in which Mr Schurz was



a cabinet officer a political fraud upon the people and a crime against free institutions. But. Mr Schurz's conscience did not stand in his way of his accepting the post of Secretary of the Interior. Perhaps that was before he had evolved the ethical principle announced in his open letter that "nothing can be more seductive, demoralizing, and perilous in a democracy than the adoption of the idea that the end justifies the means."

Mr Schurz is temperamentally opposed to whatever does not make him its high priest. He might be excused for being egotistical and cranky, and even a little pharisaical if he really had something of value to say on important public questions, but such men seldom have. Take for example this pronouncement on the tariff:

The boast that the great advances of this country in wealth and prosperity were owing to the Republican policy of high protection is simply a slander on the American people. Our natural resources are so immense, and the energy and ingenuity of American labor so exceptionally productive, that, owing to the combination of these two tremendous factors, the American people were bound to prosper and to grow rapidly in wealth under, or in spite of, any economic policy. The more I study the history of our economic development the more I become convinced that this country would have by this time been just as rich and prosperous as it is had that development been permitted to take its natural course without any artificial protection. It would be healthier, too, as the human body is healthier when brought up, not on medicinal stimulants, but upon natural food. The economic activities would in some respects probably have taken different directions. The distribution of the product and accumulated wealth would probably have been different, too, and very likely more wholesome. People would have relied more upon their own energies and less upon the government to make them rich. But, in my opinion at least, the aggregate production of wealth and the general state of popular prosperity would not have been less.

This is thoroughly characteristic. In his opinion, the tariff has done nothing to promote the industrial development of this country. What more is needed to prove that the tariff should be abolished and free trade established?



Mr Schurz always has opinions. To attribute the advance of our wealth and prosperity to protection is simply "a slander on the American people." Why a slander? The American people adopted the policy that brought it. The American people knew enough to accept the reasoning of Hamilton and Clay and the other statesmen who used a protective policy as the means for securing the opportunity to develop our industrial resources. Is it a slander because they were not fools enough to reject the advice of Hamilton, Clay, and Webster for that of men who were afraid of cities and manufacturing industries, and who thought our freedom depended upon our being farmers and stock-raisers and wood-cutters? Is it a slander upon the American people that they had the practical sense to adopt the policy under which their progress has been greater than that of any other people on the earth? Such talk lacks dignity as well as economic and political sense.

But consider the very next sentence:

Our natural resources are so immense and the energy and ingenuity of American labor so exceptionally productive that, owing to the combination of these two tremendous factors the American people were bound to prosper and to grow rapidly in wealth under, or in spite of, any economic policy.

Was anything emptier than this ever uttered? Think of the announcement "that the American people were bound to prosper and to grow rapidly in wealth under, or in spite of *any economic policy*." According to this it does not matter what economic policy we adopt. Whether we have protection or free trade, whether we have free silver or the gold standard, we are bound to prosper. Our economic policy has nothing to do with our business prosperity. Then why is he writing this letter? Why does he want Judge Parker elected; and, if we are "bound to prosper under any economic policy" why did we have a panic and business de-



pression from 1893 to 1897? Why did the factories close and the soup-kitchens open as soon as Cleveland was elected, pledged to carry out a new economic policy? Why was there bankruptcy and enforced idleness everywhere? To be sure, some of Mr Schurz's friends insist that this was not due so much to Mr Cleveland's free-trade policy as to the tendency to an over-supply of silver; but even so, it would still be an economic policy that brought the disaster. To say the economic policy of a nation has nothing to do with its prosperity is to contradict all human experience.

"The energy and ingenuity of American labor are so exceptionally productive," says Mr Schurz. But did not nearly all of this American labor come from Europe? Yet it produced no such prosperity there. How comes American labor to have this exceptional energy and ingenuity? As to the climate and conditions of soil, they are equaled in many countries. In England land will yield thirty bushels of wheat to the acre, while in this country the average crop is seldom half that, and land is just as cheap and fertile in many parts of Canada as it is here; yet, England and Canada have no such prosperity or growth in wealth.

Mr Schurz may not know it, but the fact remains that, in this country as everywhere else, industrial prosperity and progress is the result of market opportunity. The market opportunity of this country was furnished by protection. Until protection was established the economic opportunity was not here. The energy and ingenuity of labor, the fertility of the soil, and the diversity of climate were here; but the market opportunity was lacking because all the products, except those of agriculture, could be furnished cheaper from Europe—which is another way of saying that the market opportunity for American manufactures and diversified industries did not exist.

But a trifle like this is nothing to Mr Schurz. Despite all



the facts in our history to the contrary, which no competent publicist would think of denying, Mr Schurz is "convinced that this country would have, by this time, been just as rich and prosperous as it is . . . without any artificial protection." This may be Mr Schurz's opinion, but, in view of the facts, it only shows how worthless his opinion may be on such a subject. It is needless to say that the same English, Irish, German, and Scandinavian laborers would have produced the same kind of prosperity in any other country had the market conditions existed. There is nothing magical in the laborers and capitalists or any other economic element in this country. It is a matter of market opportunity. The so-called exceptional energy of American labor and the inventive genius and organizing capacity of American capitalists are the result rather than the cause of our prosperity; that is to say, the successful application and organization of economic energy has been developed in this country through the growth of our industries, which the opportunity furnished by protecting the American market made possible.

Passing to the ethics of the situation, Mr. Schurz says:

The fact is notorious that the Republican party organization before every national election "fries the fat" out of its beneficiaries, with the understanding that the beneficiaries will be protected in the enjoyment of their benefits, if the yield of the frying process is satisfactory and if not, not. The upshot is a combination of bribery and blackmail carried on with hardly any concealment.

How does Mr Schurz know about this "fat-frying" process? Has he had practical experience of it? Has he tried to fry the fat out of the beneficiaries of his subsequent votes? Or is this merely another announcement of his 'opinion'? What are the methods of frying the fat out of beneficiaries for Judge Parker? Whose "fat" is Mr Belmont going to "fry?" Was not Mr Belmont appointed Chairman of the



Parker Finance Committee because he knew how to "fry the fat" out of somebody? Is Mr Belmont's "fat-frying" done by some new moral method approved by Mr Schurz; or has the Tammany frying-pan, which is now making the fat run into the Parker pot, become the approved type? The conscience which can approve the "fat-frying" of Belmont and Murphy, and is shocked by that of Cortelyou, is nauseating to ordinary mortals. As if he sees the absurdity of this plea, Mr Schurz says:

Democratic corruption, however noxious, can be reached and overcome by local forces. The Republican corruption, as organized by the combination of protected interests on a national scale, can never be overcome so long as the policy of high protection prevails.

This, of course, is another of Mr Schurz's 'opinions.' Since when was the Tammany corruption funds reached by local forces? That Democratic stronghold, without which New York would never be Democratic within a hundred thousand votes, collects millions as extorted pay for protection to every form of vice known to the most depraved classes. It fattens upon the vices of the metropolis, and from the "fat" it "fries" out of the criminal and law-breaking classes it furnishes the Democratic majority for New York State. Yet, this is the moral force which Mr Schurz accepts, and pleads with the people to accept, in the cause of higher politics, while he characterizes every contribution from a wholesome economic industry that contributes to the healthy growth of the nation "a combination of bribery and black-mail."

There have been elections when political pharisaism was more prevalent than at present; but when the disease was at its height, as in 1884, there were few individual cases that were more nauseating, more saturated with egotism and self-righteousness than the present case of Mr Schurz.



## SHALL WE HAVE A SIXTEENTH AMENDMENT?

IT HAS been said that nothing is settled until it is settled rightly. The Negro question has not been settled rightly; hence, it refuses to remain settled. It is an encouraging sign in the controversy over this perplexing problem, however, that the whole nation is gradually assuming a more rational attitude toward it. The doctrine dogmatically affirmed in the non-slave-holding States that all men are equal and that political suffrage is an inalienable right has undergone a radical modification. In fact, as a serious theory of public policy, it has almost disappeared. No recognized student of political science and public affairs can now be found who would seriously advocate that doctrine.

On the other hand, the sectional feeling in the Southern States of thirty years ago has been greatly moderated. It is beginning to be recognized on all sides that the Negro question has two distinct aspects—social and political. The first relates to social equality and the second to political equality. The question of social equality is manifestly beyond the power of law. It can never be reached by any form of local, State, or national legislation. Social equality is a social question, which can be determined only by the voluntary action of society. Besides being contrary to the spirit of freedom, it is absolutely beyond the power of the strongest form of government to compel persons to associate with those they desire to avoid. Whether the people will base their social grouping upon wealth, family, social prestige, religion, race, or color, is wholly a local question, which habit and custom, with the free action of individual taste, must determine. There is no question in society with which



law is so utterly impotent to deal. The right of social selection and social ostracism is as indispensable to individual freedom and social progress as is the right to select a husband or wife.

In the nature of things the question of social intercourse and social equality is beyond the pale of governmental action, and must be determined by the voluntary grouping of social forces under the influence of tradition and social custom, modified by changing ideas and tastes. This standard for social grouping and intercourse may, and does, vary with different localities. In some places mere wealth is the social standard around which groups are formed; in others it is family pedigree; in others it is literary accomplishments; in still others it is social refinement; in some communities the standard is industrial, and in some it is racial—not merely in this country, but throughout the world, regardless of the form of government. Clearly, therefore, the social-equality aspect of the Negro problem must be left to the free social action of the communities where the Negroes live. If in Boston the consensus of opinion admits the Negroes into the social circles of the whites, it is the affair only of Boston. If in Charleston and Savannah the whites exclude the Negroes from the social circle, it is clearly their right to do so, and it is absolutely beyond the power of any government to prevent it, and it is contrary to the spirit of freedom and social evolution to attempt to do so by any means other than changing the social sentiments of the community.

With political equality the case is entirely different. From the very dawn of society the right to participate in government has always depended upon legal enactment, that is, the consensus of public opinion converted into law. By the adoption of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution a million or more slaves were made voters. This may have been inspired by the highest motives, but ex-



perience has shown that it was unwise. During an experiment of forty years, competent opinion of the country has been well nigh reversed. Forty years ago the enfranchisement of the Negro was believed to be an act of moral justice as well as of political wisdom; it is now admitted to have been a gross error. It was an error because it was contrary to all experience and contrary to the principle of political growth. The suffrage was conferred without regard to fitness. The Negroes were asked to perform a duty and assume a responsibility for which they had no preparation. No other country ever extended the franchise to masses of people under such conditions, and the conclusive proof that it is recognized as a blunder that would not be repeated in this country is demonstrated by our treatment of the people of Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines. Nobody in this country would think of giving the suffrage to the Hawaiians and Filipinos, yet they are quite as well prepared for the duty of American citizenship as were the Negroes when the Fifteenth Amendment was adopted. In none of these lands have the people been slaves. They have had more or less familiarity with freedom and government which the Negroes in the South had not had. If any other country should attempt to adopt the policy today that we adopted with the Negroes, we should be the first to proclaim it an error and predict for it a failure.

Through the ballot the Negro has been made a political tool, a purchasable quantity in all national elections. All this has tended to increase rather than diminish the prejudice between the races. The very fact that the Negro could be used by one political party, has made him an object of suspicion by the other. This corrupting, debauching aspect of Negro suffrage, coupled with the utter and obvious political unfitness of the race, has had the effect of making politics abnormal in the Southern States. It has divided



parties on the race line instead of on the line of political ideas. This has made it practically impossible in the South to create the rational division of political opinion that comes of different interests and points of view. The importance of party questions has been submerged by the race feeling, and it is doubtful if there can be a rational discussion of political questions and a natural division of political parties in the South so long as this condition exists.

Time has shown that the Negro franchise has been a failure. It has failed to benefit the Negro, it has failed to benefit the public. The Negroes have never used the suffrage to obtain any measures or to influence any public policy tending to promote their own material or social improvement. On the contrary, they have used it mainly as a means of irritating their neighbors, or as an article of merchandise.

The political and moral failure of the suffrage for the Negro has finally resulted in the legal failure of the Fifteenth Amendment. The Constitution provided that every State should have the right to determine the basis of voting for its own citizens. The Fifteenth Amendment changed this by providing that: "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." This was intended to, and for thirty years did, prevent the legal exclusion of the Negro from the right of suffrage. It is under this Amendment that for a generation he has exercised the suffrage with uniform failure. It must be admitted that for much of the time Negroes have been prevented from exercising the suffrage by illegal and often by coercive means. Indeed, their right to vote was never admitted in the Southern States. As a culmination of this, a way has recently been invented by which this moral and social opposition to Negro suffrage has been made legal, and by amendments to constitutions in several



States, which will sooner or later be adopted throughout the South, Negroes have been practically denied the right to vote. Thus the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which conferred the franchise on the Negro has failed to stand the test of experience. It thus appears that on the question of social and political equality the white race in the South has won the issue.

But the legal disfranchisement of the Negro creates a new political inequality between Southern States and other States of the Union. The Constitution provides that representation in Congress shall be apportioned among the several States according to population. Since the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment the Negro population has been included in the enumeration for the basis of representation. In 1900 there were in the Southern States about 7,000,000 Negroes. According to the new apportionment, that would give about forty-one Representatives. If the Negroes are to be legally excluded from voting, it of course follows that they should be eliminated from the basis of representation in Congress; otherwise the South will have about forty-one more Representatives than she is entitled to according to the census and the Constitution. This is an infringement of the rights of all the other States, because it gives the South a political advantage of about 10 per cent. in Congress and the law-making power of the nation.

It is not to be expected that such an inequality of representation will be permanently accepted by the country. It is contrary alike to the spirit and letter of representative institutions and to the written constitution of the country. The Fourteenth Amendment anticipated just this difficulty. In Section 2 it provides:

Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the



right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-president of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

While this Amendment provides that when the right to vote is denied to any of the male inhabitants in the State of twenty-one years of age, the basis of representation shall be reduced accordingly, it provides no method by which the change shall be made. As pointed out in a previous article, no method can be adopted for abridging representation in Congress of the Southern States that does not apply to all States in the Union. While the Southern States have excluded the Negroes for race reasons, in order to comply with the Constitution they are technically doing it by means of an educational test. But if the representation of South Carolina and Alabama is to be reduced in proportion to the practical exclusion from voting because of illiteracy, the representation of Massachusetts and New York must be revised for the same reason.

The justice of reducing the representation in Congress where the Negroes are disfranchised is manifest. Nobody will pretend that under the Constitution a State can properly have representation in Congress for a portion of population that is excluded from the franchise. But how to change the basis of representation in accordance with the Constitution is a serious question. The Chicago platform declares in favor of the revision of the representation, but it does not suggest how it can be done. Nevertheless, such an obvious inequality and political injustice can not be a permanent feature of our government. If the Negroes are to be excluded from the suffrage, as they evidently are, some way must be



found to readjust the representation in Congress of the States in which they are disfranchised.

To such a readjustment the States disfranchising the Negroes can not object without committing themselves to the manifest injustice of wanting more than their constitutional share of representation. In an article on the Sixteenth Amendment in the *North-American Review* Mr. Charles W. Thomas presents a method for accomplishing this readjustment of representation that seems more nearly to furnish a practical solution of the question than anything heretofore suggested. This proposed Sixteenth Amendment is as follows:

Section 1. The Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States and sections 2 and 3 of the Fourteenth Amendment thereto are hereby repealed and abrogated.

Section 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to the number of male inhabitants of the age of twenty-one years and over, being citizens of the United States, who are permitted by law in the States respectively to vote for the choice of electors for President and Vice-president of the United States and for Representatives in Congress.

Section 3. Congress shall have power, by laws uniform in their operation, to fix the time and prescribe the manner of holding elections for the choice of electors for President and Vice-president of the United States and Representatives in Congress and the power to enforce all the provisions of this article by any appropriate legislation.

Like the original Constitution, this Amendment gives each State complete power over the franchise of its citizens. The State can establish any qualifications for voting that it sees fit, but the representation in Congress must be apportioned according to the number of male inhabitants of twenty-one years of age who are by law permitted to vote for the choice of electors for President and Vice-president and for Representatives in Congress. This effectively excludes the enumeration of the Negroes as the basis for representation where they are excluded by law from the right to



vote. Of course this repeals the Fifteenth Amendment, but that has already been repealed by those States that have disfranchised the Negro, so that it is merely recognizing what has already taken place. This would, of course, enable any State to exclude from the franchise any class by a simple legislative enactment; but it would, at the same time, proportionately reduce representation of that State in Congress and diminish its influence in the federal government. The proposition seems effectively to solve the problem. It is entirely consistent with the spirit and letter of the Constitution in leaving the States full right to regulate the qualifications for voting and, at the same time, secures the equality of the representation of the States in the national government.

There is one objection to this proposition, from the point of view of popular government and democratic institutions. It would allow States to exclude the Negroes from the suffrage for race reasons. Any State could, and many of them would, proceed under this Amendment to legislate that none but the whites should be eligible to vote. This would deny to the Negro the right to enjoy the full rights of citizenship, no matter how thoroughly he was equipped for the duties of citizenship by education, personal ability, or experience. As already observed, social ostracism is clearly a matter of social selection and can never properly be a subject of legal regulations; but the right to representation in the making of laws which one has to obey is the very essence of democratic institutions. It is entirely consistent with representative institutions, and with the most democratic form of government, that the right to vote and otherwise participate in the government of the country should be based upon some standard of fitness; it may be education, intelligence, or ownership of property, but it must be on some quality which directly relates to the fitness of performing the duties of



citizenship; but to exclude citizens purely for race reasons is clearly contrary to the spirit of political equity and the principles of the democracy. Freedom is not a privilege of race, but the goal of progress of all races. There is nothing in political or moral philosophy that can justify the permanent exclusion of any race from the benefits of progress and the rights of freedom. But it is a fundamental principle in sound political philosophy that unfitness for the duties of citizenship is a just basis for exclusion from the franchise. If the Negro could be excluded from political power by direct legislative enactment, excluding all but the white race from the right to vote, then his hope of ever acquiring the franchise would be practically, gone since under those conditions, whatever the personal, social, or industrial improvement of the Negroes, he would have no legal power. Under the present form of exclusion by constitutional amendment there does remain the possibility of the Negroes recovering the franchise by a sufficient advancement in education. Although all the presumptions and doubts may be against him, a certain degree of education would make it impossible for the most prejudiced officials to exclude him. Thus with a certain degree of educational, personal, and industrial preparedness, the Negro may acquire the full rights of citizenship under the present laws and constitutions, whereas under Mr Thomas's amendment he might be forever excluded.

It may be said, however, that with the advance in industry, thrift, education, and personal fitness, the prejudice against Negro enfranchisement would disappear, that at the bottom the objection to Negro voting is his unfitness for the duty of citizenship. Of course many think that this is due to race conditions and will always remain, but, nevertheless, the real objection is unfitness. The objection to Negroes voting can hardly be more intense than was the objection of the upper and middle class in England fifty years ago to



extending the franchise to the laborers. They could not raise race objections, but the opposition to anything like social and political equality was as violent as it is in the South today regarding the negroes. Yet by the dint of their social and industrial progress and their rise in the scale of political fitness the laborers gradually broke down this prejudice, and they were admitted to the franchise. This would, in the nature of things, take place in the case of the Negroes. Freedom of speech and freedom of the press would be vouchsafed them. Their participation in the discussion of public affairs, their criticism of public policies, their presentation of their own claims for admission to the franchise, would exercise an influence in the modification of public opinion, and, in proportion to their progress in political fitness would the opposition diminish race prejudice and in this way, through the natural process of evolution and the growth of political fitness, they would again acquire the right to vote. The chief advantage of this plan is that it permits the equitable adjustment of representation and thus eliminates from our political system an injustice to the whole country.

It may be said that the South will not rest until the Negro is legally eliminated from politics, and it may be added with equal certainty that the country will not rest until the representation of the South is put on a proper equality with that of the other States. This would, at least, remove the race problem from politics and permit party opinion to develop and divide naturally along the lines of party policy, instead of, as now in a large section of the country, being warped by race prejudice to the detriment of the whole country.



## THE FRENCH SOCIALISTS

OTHON GUERLAC, CORRESPONDENT OF THE PARIS TEMPS

SOME years ago, during the campaign preceding the elections to the French Chamber of Deputies, a great manufacturer of the department of Nord was a candidate against the Socialist deputy of Roubaix, the famous leader, Jules Guesde. The contest was very close, Roubaix having a large population of workingmen and being a Socialist stronghold. The manufacturer appealed to one of the most prominent speakers of the Republican party to stump the constituency for him. This orator came, and delivered a masterly address, pointing out the fallacies of collectivism, which he branded as a doctrine of hatred, "leading to distress and servitude." The effect was such that the Socialists summoned one of their best debaters, who came and preached the gospel of Karl Marx.

A year after this controversy, which ended with the defeat of the Socialist, the two opposite spokesmen found themselves once more face to face. The one, M. Waldeck-Rousseau, had become Prime Minister, the other, M. Millerand, had been chosen by M. Waldeck-Rousseau as a member of his cabinet.

Much fuss has been made about this incident which, no doubt, is without precedent in French contemporary politics. For the first time a man who had pledged himself to the destruction of all private property had become a member of a Republican cabinet. The Socialist party was deeply impressed—and not altogether favorably—by this unforeseen event. As to the conservative Republicans who are led by



M. Méline and M. Ribot they looked upon M. Waldeck-Rousseau's daring act as an unbearable scandal and for four years tried their best to upset what they called the Socialistic Ministry.

This Socialistic Ministry was in existence three years and was supported by a small but steady majority in the Chamber and in the Senate. In fact, it lived longer than any other in the history of the French Republic. Private property was not abolished and no real socialistic legislation was enacted. The two Socialist colleagues of M. Waldeck-Rousseau, M. Millerand, Minister of Commerce, and M. Baudin, Minister of Public Works, acted like any other ministers of the bourgeois class, to which, moreover, they belong. They followed the principles of conservative statesmanship.

M. Millerand, however, continued in his speeches to express his faithful allegiance to the socialistic doctrine, which remains his ideal. At Lens, in 1900, at Firminy, in 1902, he asserted that he did not abandon anything of the faith which he propounded for the whole party in 1896. But, at the same time, the responsibility of government gave to his views more maturity; he repudiated with energy the use of violence; he called the attention of his party to the necessity of aiming at practical results. He asked that it should not despise small issues within their reach and urged it to prefer slow and sure evolution to hazardous and impossible revolution. "The contempt of compromise is but the contempt of action and of life," was the keynote of his speech to the miners of Firminy.

Meanwhile he tried by laws and decrees to strengthen organized labor. He created the Councils of Labor, in which only syndicated workingmen are to be represented; he obtained a ten-hour working-day for nearly 1,200,000 laborers, meanwhile granting to the employes of his own



administration the eight-hour day. He tried, also, but without success, to force through the Chamber a law making strikes compulsory after a majority vote of the trade-union, and compelling employers to contribute to the old age pension fund.

The history of the French Socialist party is well worth recalling. It begins in 1879. Of course socialism traces its origin much farther back. Its first martyr was Babeuf who tried to establish communism at the time of the Directory, and was guillotined in 1797. Its first great theorists were the writers of the beginning of the century, Saint-Simon and Fourier. But suddenly, in its history, which can be traced all through the riots of the Monarchy of July, the Revolution of 1848, and the upheavals of the Second Empire, there is a gap. This hiatus began in 1871 and lasted until 1879. It was the result of the bloody repression of the Commune in May 1871, which seemed to have extinguished forever the new doctrine. One half of the party had been executed; the other half was either in jail or in exile.

When in 1879 the amnesty bill was voted, Cayenne, Geneva, and London sent back to Paris the survivors of the Commune, who, with the scattered elements of the old party, formed a new one under the name of Socialist Labor Party. Its platform was very simple. It was merely war against the bourgeoisie and revenge for the Commune. Embittered by suffering, it refused to forget and forgive defeat. Its doctrine assumed the form of a religion of savage hatred, of which the symbol was the red flag and the rites were the annual pilgrimage to the "Wall of the Federates," where their friends had been shot in 1871.

It soon appeared that, in spite of these sacred recollections, the Socialists were deeply divided by theoretical differences and by personal rivalries. In 1882, at one of their first conventions in St Étienne, a great split took place, revealing



the existence of two main tendencies, which were henceforth to find their expression in the two parties that have taken the lead of the revolutionary army. One of these tendencies was represented by a young man, Jules Guesde, a former type-setter, who had studied during his exile in Switzerland the Marx theory, and who, through his magnetic eloquence and his ardent fanaticism, deeply impressed the masses. He advocated the collectivist principles of Karl Marx's *Capital*, without any compromise or concessions of any kind. His partizans were called Guesdists. The other tendency was not so extreme nor so utterly regardless of realities. It was represented by Dr Brousse, an intelligent physician, and Allemane, another clever compositor, who claimed that the Socialists ought to accept any reform that was likely to improve the welfare of the working classes, and to aim at whatever partial progress it was possible to reach. Their party was therefore called the Possibilists.

These two parties, strongly opposed to each other, were in turn divided into many secondary groups. But, hostile as they were, their methods and aims were very much alike. They endeavored to organize the working-men into a class-conscious body. They encouraged strikes, fostered discontent, and incensed passions through their meetings and newspapers. But, while steadily preparing for revolution they took advantage of all the means of action that bourgeois society offered them. They especially stood for office, and during the period of their division they succeeded in electing some deputies and a great many aldermen to the common councils. As early as 1885 the department of Nord elected to the Chamber a Socialist bartender, while Paris and Marseille chose some Communards. Paul Lafargue, the son-in-law of Karl Marx, was elected in 1889. Up to 1900, when a nationalist cyclone swept the capital, there



had always been a Socialist majority in the municipal council of Paris.

In 1893 a great movement toward union took place. The Socialists, in order to make the best of their opportunities and to advance a step toward the "possession of public powers," resolved to forget their rivalries. A committee was formed with the view to nominating candidates, accepted by socialists of every school and doctrine, for the coming elections. At the polls in 1893 59 deputies were elected on the platform of the united Socialist party. The total Socialist vote is estimated to have been 800,000. Progress was also made in the provinces, the Socialists conquering the common councils of such important cities as Marseille, Lille, Limoges, and Roubaix, to which they were able to add a few years later Lyon, the greatest French city after Paris. Their political activity began to be felt in parliamentary politics, which more than once they were able to control. They forced Casimir-Perier out of the Presidency in 1895, overthrew different ministries by allying themselves with the Radicals, and in all political debates of the house they took an extremely brilliant part. Finally, they managed to be the only party to gain anything in the Dreyfus affair, although some of them showed themselves cautious and even cowardly.

Two men have been prominent in promoting this great evolution in the methods of the party and in teaching it the superiority of parliamentary tactics over the erratic policy of agitation in which they had hitherto indulged. These were both converts to collectivism. One of them was Alexandre Millerand, who had had a brilliant career in the ranks of the Radical party. Born in Paris in 1859, Millerand received the training of the average French politician. After making a name for himself as a gifted orator at the Paris bar and playing a distinguished part in all political trials, he



was elected a member of the Paris municipal council and became a lieutenant to Clémenceau both in his paper *La Justice* and in the Chamber of Deputies, which he entered in 1885. Like Clémenceau, whom he pretty soon deserted, Millerand marked himself out, not merely as a telling debater, but as a crafty tactician who knew how to find the weak point in the arguments of his adversaries and to make the best out of their blunders. He became the terror of all ministers, while his party agreed that it was not easy to find a leader more richly endowed with the qualities required for the destructive work which they intended to perform.

On the same line with Millerand was a young professor of philosophy, Jean Jaurès, who stands, to-day, as the most brilliant if not the most effective orator of the Socialist party. He, too, entered the Chamber of Deputies in 1885. He was at that time a member of the most moderate group of the Republican majority, the left center. Jaurès, is a southerner, like Gambetta, and he has much in common with the great opportunist statesman, especially his ready flow of eloquence, his rhetorical power, his genial pathos, his ringing voice, and the rhythmic cadence of his periods. During his first term, Jaurès stood by the Republican platform upon which he had been elected, showing merely his deep and sincere interest in social questions as well as his spirit of independence. At the election of 1889 he was defeated, and the moderate Republicans mourned the loss of an orator of great promise whom they considered as a minister of the near future and whose high capacity and splendid gifts were to redound to the honor of their party.

But they soon saw their error. M. Jaurès, who took up again his professorship and was appointed at the University of Toulouse, had begun to study the Marx doctrines. Gradually he became convinced that no great social reform was to be expected from the good-will of the middle classes, and



that only a revolution could break with the old order of things and upset the capitalistic system upon which it is founded. His first important socialist manifestation consisted in the Latin thesis that he presented before the Paris University in 1892 for the degree of *docteur-ès-lettres*, and in which he summed up the origin of German Socialism, which he traced back to Luther and brought down to Karl Marx. This thesis became an important event in his career. From that time on his place was marked within the ranks of the Socialists. In the Chamber of 1893-98, to which he was elected, he became the most popular spokesman of the party.

Millerand and Jaurès, the one with his ability for parliamentary strategy, the other with his matchless gift for sonorous and rhetorical generalizations, have oriented the party and strengthened and trained it for the conquest of political powers by taking an active share in all the debates in the Chamber and using the floor for the propaganda of their doctrines. By his famous address of St. Mandé in 1896, in which Millerand stated the conditions under which a man had the right to call himself a socialist, namely, by accepting "the necessary and progressive substitution of social property for capitalistic property," he threw out of it the anti-Semitic and nationalist demagogues who had swarmed around them for the sake of catching the votes of the masses.

Then came the Dreyfus case. The generous attitude of Jaurès and the cooperation of Millerand with a bourgeois ministry brought about a new schism that still divides the party.

On the one side, again, are the Possibilists, who believe that the first Socialist duty is to support the Republic and the principles which it embodies. On the other side are the uncompromising Marxists, who, with Guesde, called the Dreyfus affair "a quarrel of bourgeois," and who refused to a Socialist the right to ally himself with any bourgeois govern-



ment in any circumstances. The Possibilist stand, in this controversy, which raged for three years, is taken by the Parliamentary Socialists, especially by the most gifted and earnest members of the party: Viviani, a remarkably eloquent lawyer; Rouanet, a scholarly writer, editor of *La Revue Socialiste*, a most violent adversary of nationalism; Fournière, a generous and literary man, who has written a book on Idealistic Socialism. All follow the lead of Jaurès.

These opposite factions have been fighting for years in various congresses where the personal jealousies and the savage passions, always rampant in Socialist conventions, manifest themselves freely. In December, 1900, in Paris, the first of these congresses in which Jules Guesde and Jaurès were the spokesmen of the two factions, agreed to a contradictory statement, which was voted by 1140 against 245, declaring that, while the entrance of a Socialist in a bourgeois ministry was contrary to the principle of the *lutte des classes*, nevertheless its advisability might be considered by the party "in exceptional circumstances." The antinomy between the two conceptions appeared in practical politics, in the daily routine of the Chamber of Deputies, where half the party (which reckoned officially 45 members) voted against Waldeck-Rousseau while 21 of them supported him with a spirit of discipline and self-sacrifice that nobody expected.

At the congress of Lyon, May, 1901, there was a definitive scission. Blanquists and Guesdists separated themselves from the Jaurès party and formed the "revolutionary union of the French Socialist party."

At last the Ministerialists, who are styled "moderate Socialists," held a convention at Tours, March, 1902, in which they showed that with the exception of the Millerand experiment, which moreover was to end with this last legislature, they are in full agreement with the most outspoken revolutionists.



The statement, drafted by Jaurès and signed by all the members of the convention, tried to conciliate the two tendencies of modern socialism, the evolutionist and the revolutionist; but its platform comprises all the old planks, from the suppression of standing armies down to the suppression of the capitalistic form of property.

A curious fact is that the Socialist clientèle has been steadily gaining in France, not only among the working classes, but among the cultured classes. In some of the highest institutions of learning, such as the *École Normale Supérieure*, which forms the staff of the French universities, socialism has found its way. Books on socialism are frequently published by French professors. Many distinguished men of letters have shown themselves friendly to it; such is the case of Anatole France. A distinguished writer, who is the foremost French authority on foreign matters, M. Francis de Pressensé, the foreign editor of *Le Temps*, was elected May 11, 1902, the Socialist deputy for Lyon. These elections showed that if the Socialists have suffered some losses, as was the case in Paris where Viviani, Fournière, and Allemane were defeated, they have kept their own. The Socialist group of the present Chamber counts 43 members, half of whom support the Combes ministry. Jaurès, defeated in 1898 on account of his chivalrous stand for Dreyfus, was reelected, and new members of talent make up for the absence of the most prominent victims of universal suffrage.

The little experiment of socialist cooperation with a capitalistic administration will not have proved fruitless. It has demonstrated the fact that whenever socialists of intelligence and culture come in direct touch with the problems of government, their idealistic theories and their uncompromising principles must give way to the more practical methods of "the compromise and transaction policy," which M. Millérand advocated and practised during his ministry.



## LOOKING THROUGH AN OLD MAGAZINE

JOEL BENTON

IT SEEMS today like a far look backward to glance through a number of one of the Philadelphia magazines of a half century ago, when that city was the acknowledged literary center of the United States. The two periodicals printed there, which were then our foremost representatives of letters, were *Graham's Magazine* and *Godey's Lady's Book*. To them our greatest writers, and those to be great, offered their stories, essays, and verse which were liberally welcomed, and as liberally paid for as the counting-room's receipts would allow. Bryant, Longfellow, Holmes, Whittier, Halleck, and Poe, and many other writers of note, sent their productions to these hospitable magazines, and in the book reviews published in them they and their contemporaries were estimated and described.

I have before me two double volumes of *Godey's Lady's Book* (founded in 1830) which represent the nineteenth and twentieth years of its existence. In the latter volume the editor, opposite a striking picture of Mr L. A. Godey, the magazine's founder, writes a retrospect of the magazine's history, covering two pages of generously expressed satisfaction. In this he says:

"Twenty years—can it be so long?—a magazine of elegant literature was cast doubtfully upon the uncertain stream of public favor. . . . It was a novel enterprise at the time, and few thought it would outlive the first year of its nativity."

"At first," says the editor, "the plate number appeared once in three months. That was an era in magazine literature. How prized and cherished was the number that came embellished with an engraving four inches long by three



inches wide!" At first too the editor "was compelled to look abroad for the sources of literature with which to supply its pages. . . . He drew from English periodicals and books the mental bouquets [banquets] monthly spread before his readers. Feeling this to be a defect," and wishing to make the magazine "American," he soon began to engage native writers and paid them for their work. Very soon all the articles of the magazine were written by American authors, and the editor claims, in this retrospect, that their remuneration was "in most instances above that paid by magazine publishers in England."

Instead of a second-hand plate once in three months, original ones quickly followed. There were at first two, then three, and then four for each number, "by artists of first-rate ability," with "no advance in price." And there were fashion plates in addition. The editor says: "The public looked on in wonder." No doubt the achievement thus celebrated was worthy of these happy felicitations.

In the Editor's Table there is a pathetic note now and then uttered over the plethora of contributions. Writers are told that if they do not receive a reply to their letters enclosing contributions "within six months," they may conclude they have not been accepted.

An interesting department is the Editor's Book Table. The articles in it are scarcely more than a paragraph or two in length, and are notices and announcements rather than extended criticisms. Here we learn that George Lippard (a name once very prominent, but now utterly forgotten) has, in a new story, "struck out an entirely new path, and stands isolated on a point inaccessible to the mass of writers of the present day." Of Oliver Wendell Holmes's *Poems*, a new edition under W. D. Ticknor & Co.'s imprint, the editor says: "The great charm of the poems is their truthfulness and cheerfulness. Even the wit, when most keen, is never



unkind; it shows folly its own image, but never distorts or magnifies the weaknesses of poor humanity. Dr Holmes is one of our best and bravest poets—American truly, never studying to embody German ideas or Italian sentiment or French vivacity in his strains; he writes from his own full mind and hoping heart, and therefore his poems have the charm of original and life-like pictures which insure their popularity." One wonders whether it was Longfellow that provoked the cosmopolitan antithesis suggested in this notice.

The judgment given in respect to *Foot-Prints*, by R. H. Stoddard, then first published by Spalding and Shepard, is as follows: "These poems give promise of true genius in the writer. There is high hope. The next publication of the author will decide where he takes his stand. Let him steadily and strenuously cultivate his own powers, and not be too eager for the prize at once, and he will obtain it."

The Great Hoggarty Diamond issued by Harper and Brothers is thus styled: "A most humorous work by Thackeray—very droll and very good. There is one scene in the book varying from its general character, that surpasses in beauty and pathos anything we ever read by Dickens." Feeling that it was almost sacrilege to say this, the editor adds: "This is a bold assertion, but it is true."

Longfellow's *The Seaside and the Fireside*, issued by Ticknor, Reed, and Fields, receives this tribute: "The grace and beauty of the poetry molded by the mind of Professor Longfellow are too well known to require description. This thin volume contains new gems of fancy and feeling, and will be warmly welcomed by all who admire his choice productions. The Dedication is very beautiful, and *The Building of the Ship* seems inspired with the energy of action as well as the wisdom of meditation. Nothing the author has written since *The Psalm of Life* has so charmed us as this



noble poem." Of J. G. Saxe's *Poems*, published by the same Boston house, it is said: "Dr Holmes must look to his laurels, or Mr Saxe will win them yet."

Of Lowell's *Poems*, by the Ticknor house, this praise is given: "We are happy to see the productions of this author extended to two volumes. We recognize many old favorites and enjoy many new pieces that only serve to raise the reputation of Mr Lowell. His poems are now standard, and are quoted extensively at home and abroad." Emerson's *Nature, Addresses, and Lectures*, bearing the imprint of James Monroe and Co., is thus recognized: "We have here the choicest productions of this author, who is now acknowledged as one of the most original and bold among the men of genius our country can boast. There is a peculiarity in the writings of Mr Emerson; whatever theme he touches he sets in a new light, and thus gives the charm of novelty to his most grave addresses. What he writes will be read, and if the meanings can not all be comprehended—his sphinx loves to deal in riddles—the beauties of language will be felt. And there are great truths made manifest by his earnest, sincere teachings."

With the notice of Thoreau's *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers*, imprinted by James Monroe and Co., the Book Table comment can be dismissed. Thoreau's name, it would seem, was taken for a pen name by this reviewer; and in having to guess its owner no one but Whittier occurred to him, which was a pretty poor guess. The notice says:

"Those who have read Margaret Smith's *Journal* will be at no loss in settling the authorship of this clever and interesting work. Mr Whittier touches all his themes with the true poet's wand." It would be interesting to know if Thoreau and Whittier ever read this reference to themselves.



A poem by Holmes given below is not to be found in the later editions of his poems nor do I find it in his acknowledged lists of *Juvenilia*. Probably it was in no edition, as it is well known that Holmes never made an exhaustive collection of his periodical verse.

#### THE TWO SHADOWS.

It was an evening calm and fair  
As ever drank the dews of June;  
The living earth, the breathless air,  
Slept by the shining moon.

There was a rudely-woven seat  
That lay beneath a garden wall—  
I heard two voices low and sweet,  
I saw two shadows fall.

Two shadows side by side they were,  
With but a line of light between;  
If shapes more real lingered there,  
Those shapes were all unseen.

The voice which seemed of deepest tone  
Breathed something which I scarcely heard;  
And there was silence, save alone  
One faintly-whispered word.

And then the larger shadow drew  
Nearer and nearer, till it came  
So close that one might think the two  
Were melting to the same.

I heard a sound that lovers know—  
A sound from lips that do not speak;  
But, oh, it leaves a deeper glow  
Than words upon the cheek!

Dear maiden, hast thou ever known  
That sound which sets the soul on fire?  
And is it not the sweetest tone  
Wrung from earth's shattered lyre?

Alas! upon my boyish brow  
Fair lips have often more than smiled;  
But there are none to press it now—  
I am no more a child.



Long, long the blended shadows lay  
As they were in a viewless fold;  
And will they never break away,  
So loving, yet so cold?

They say that spirits walk the vale,  
But that I do not truly know—  
I wonder, when I told the tale,  
Why Fanny crimsoned so?

This piece the author may have thought too light in execution; but it is cadenced perfectly, and is too naively and tenderly fanciful to be lost.

Edward Everett and Washington Irving are among these contributors, and so was F. T. Quakerman, of whom we once heard so much, now hidden under Lethean mists.

The editor of this magazine was Mrs. Sarah Joseph Hale, a voluminous writer, in her time, of stories, verses, and sketches. Mrs Osgood, Mrs Elizabeth Oakes Smith, Mrs J. C. Neal, Miss Fredrika Bremer, Miss Hannah F. Gould, and Grace Greenwood were among the women writers; and Park Benjamin, William Gilmore Simms, T. S. Arthur, and Louis Gaylord Clark appear more or less in the table of contents. Mr Godey wrote occasionally, but preferred the counting room, and claimed, when the second of these volumes appeared, that his circulation had reached the then unprecedented figure of 58,000 copies.

Graham's Magazine was then his most important rival. In New York, the Democratic Review and Knickerbocker Magazine were still going. Putnam's had not arrived, and Harper's Magazine was making its initial bow to the public. Just seven years later the Atlantic Monthly took its first breath. Who can tell what permutations in periodicals another half century may have in store for us, or what contributors' names now known will survive, and whose are to fade out of memory's enclosure?



## ORGANIZATION OF THE SUGAR-CANE GROWERS

LEONORA BECK ELLIS

UPON a sound agricultural system must be based the true prosperity of a country like the United States. This is no longer a disputable point. Commercial achievements and eminence in manufactures, in a country of such physical conformation, such people, and polity as our own, can only follow, never precede, agricultural success.

That this fundamental principle has been apprehended by the nation at large and our industrial policy in the past shaped accordingly, must largely account for our present proud distinction as a nation that sells in the world's markets far more than it buys, a nation with a magnificent balance always on the right side, which is the export side.

Yet one conspicuous, even grievous, flaw in our agricultural soundness, not merely exists, but for some time past has grown more aggravated from year to year. Your true economist, be he producer or only consumer is ready with his immediate answer. And that flaw is our non-production of sugar, or rather a production so scant as to be called non-production.

The economist is right. Here is our point of greatest weakness. Why should our sugar bills eat up all the magnificent income we earn by pouring the golden tide of our wheat on foreign shores? Worse still: the revenues from wheat, applied in full to our sugar bills, will leave us still in



debt. To liquidate completely, we must lay down, also, a part of our income from animal products, from tobacco, corn, or cotton.

If there were a reason why we should not produce sugar at a neat profit, then, assuredly, should we let it alone, as we are doing; for we have proved indisputably that we can raise other commodities profitably. Or if we had to take any of the lands now given to grain, cotton, or other margin crops, we might well hesitate and draw back. But it has been thoroughly demonstrated in the past that cane sugar can be produced at a handsome profit in America's great natural sugar belt, which includes the rich lands of Southern Georgia, a portion of the coast region of South Carolina, all of Florida, much of Alabama, Mississippi, and Texas, and nearly all of Louisiana. If you think that the extensive planting of sugar cane here would take the fields from cotton or any other remunerative crops, you have only to remember that more than forty per cent. of this area is now classed as waste lands, and a very large proportion of the territory is adapted to no really paying crops except sugar-cane.

It is generally known that Americans are the largest consumers of sugar in the world. We use the prodigious total of 3,000,000 tons of this commodity per annum, an average of about 70 pounds to every man, woman, and child in our land, as against Europe's 27 pounds pro rata. Not a bad showing this, if only we made all the sugar ourselves, as we could and should do. But we produce from beets, with all our bounties and encouragement, but 163,000 tons of sugar a year, and from sugar-cane in Louisiana at best only 275,000 tons: nothing anywhere else to speak of except in our new colonial possessions. We are left then to pay the enormous tribute of \$140,000,000 per annum to foreign countries for the staple which, with a reasonable amount of enterprise and initiative, could be grown here,



to the enrichment of a great and necessitous agricultural section.

Another point of importance is, that most of the sugar consumed by us is still cane sugar. The total cane sugar in the world last year was 4,423,061 tons, and of this entire output the United States managed to use very nearly two-thirds. With such facts before us it is a truism to add that America needs sugar as she needs cotton or wheat; needs to grow it, as she needs it for consumption. Certainly it is among the crying needs of the agricultural South.

From the full realization of this misuse, or rather neglect, of the producing power of our land, has recently come an agricultural movement, which, though quietly initiated, and little noted in a general way outside of the section most immediately concerned, is yet destined, in all probability, to work the needed revolution. A movement for the greater sugar-cane industry, this has been felicitously denominated by Harvie Jordan, of Georgia, President of the National Congress of Farmers; while the impelling sentiment back of the movement seems to be, American sugar for Americans, and the outgoing millions of gold turned back into our own pockets.

It has been little more than a year since the organization of the Inter-state Sugar-cane Growers' Association, and this important body has recently held its second annual meeting in Jacksonville, Florida. The first convention, in Macon, Georgia, in May, 1903, came about so simply and quietly that it seemed, we may say, rather the result of natural forces than anything else. The call for the gathering was addressed "To those interested in the cultivation and manufacture of sugar-cane in the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, and Arkansas."

This circular letter recapitulated briefly the history of the



industry in our country, setting forth such facts as the planting of the first cane ever grown in the United States, which was near New Smyrna, Fla., on the Halifax river, in 1767, next in Georgia in 1806, and finally the carrying of seed-cane from this Georgia stock to Louisiana in 1825. Reference was also made to the great amount of sugar manufactured at a handsome profit in the South during the active period between 1830 and 1860, and likewise the large quantity supplied by Florida alone during the Civil War. Substantial facts were quoted in support of all this.

"After the lapse of near a half century," the paper proceeded, "a revival has taken place in this nearly forgotten crop, as a commercial industry, and it is to take advantage of this revival that the undersigned have thought it an opportune time for the entire cane belt of the United States and those interested in it, to assemble and consider plans and methods for placing the cane industry again upon a commercial basis."

Attention was especially invited to the fact that enormous areas of land adapted preeminently to the cultivation of sugar-cane, were being rapidly cleared of their timber by the lumber-men, pressing hard upon the tracks of the manufacturers of naval stores. "The aggregate of these at present waste areas is so great," was the forcible argument next offered, "that a proper utilization of them presents a very important problem for solution by economists and statesmen, in their relation to the taxable resources of States, counties, and cities, and because of their bearing upon the general prosperity and health of the entire section embraced in this invitation."

In such wise the invitation went forth, signed by many names prominent not only in agricultural science, but also in general industry and progress throughout the South, and, because the time was opportune and the matter one of pro-



found importance to an extensive region and, through it, to the nation at large, the call was answered by a large and notable representation in convention. The gathering was addressed strongly and earnestly, as one with an immediately significant work before it, by such men as James Wilson, Secretary of Agriculture; Dr H. W. Wiley, Chief of Bureau of Chemistry, U. S. Department of Agriculture; Dr W. C. Stubbs, Director of the Louisiana Sugar Experiment Station; Harvie Jordan, President of the National Congress of Farmers, and also by the most prominent State chemists in the South, by several State commissioners of agriculture, and finally by practical planters of cane and others who had given intelligent study to this matter.

The meeting was a purely practical one, and the immediate result was the organization of the Inter-state Sugar-cane Growers' Association, with the declared purpose of promoting cane-growing and the sugar industry as well as sirup-making in the South, and of placing these on a stable commercial basis. D. G. Purse, of Savannah, Georgia, was elected first president of the body; and we may add that the same gentleman was, at the late meeting at Jacksonville, elected by unanimous vote to succeed himself in this responsible office. Nothing could be more fitting, as Mr Purse is a man of large ability and recognized power, a man of scientific attainments and thought, and yet a practical planter as well. Above all, he was the prime agitator of this sugar-cane movement, having advocated and urged, for years, the revival of this great industry.

That the cane-growers are pushing on toward the achievement of their well-defined purposes, is undeniable, although the results of an inaugural year in a campaign whose processes are necessarily slow as its ends are large, can not be so easily summed up. The educational purposes of the organization are being steadily pursued,—the study of methods



and means of cultivating sugar-cane scientifically to the highest advantage and of putting the sugar industry on a sound basis. The exchange of views and experiences at the general meetings is accomplishing much in stimulating efforts in this direction, while the dissemination of the literature of the organization is an important factor.

Definite reports as to the present year's acreage can not as yet be obtained, but it is authoritatively claimed that it has been greatly increased in Georgia, Florida, and Louisiana, while the establishment of new sugar plants in this territory, such as that of Mess'rs Cohn and Co., in Decatur County, Georgia, is exceedingly encouraging.

Altogether, the greater sugar-cane industry in the Southern States bids fair to show a vast and permanent expansion within the next few years, and economists who have been deploring the most marked defect in our great agricultural system may soon find cause to rejoice in this new sign of common sense progress in America.



## BARBARITY OF NAVAL WARFARE\*

STANHOPE SAMS

WHILE war on land has been shorn of many of its horrors and much of its savagery, those who go down to the sea in ships are still the prey of pirates and buccaneers sailing under the flags of civilized states. In all ages, war at sea has been less subject to human usages and less restrained by considerations of mercy and justice than war on land. There has never been a knighthood or chivalry of the sea. The greatest sea fighters, with few exceptions, have been pirates, with a predilection for burning coast cities and making prisoners walk the plank. The wide highways of the ocean have always been a lure to bold and untrammelled souls. The almost impossibility of pursuit and punishment made the sea the natural field for the exploits of Vikings, Barbary pirates, Chinese black flags, the motley horde of plunderers that infested the Spanish main, and the almost as depraved privateers of Europe and of this country. The sea still tempts the bold commander of a vessel; and when he steams out of a home port upon its open roadway, the shackles of civilization seem to fall from him. If his ship is commissioned as a privateer, it is very likely that he will soon sink into a pirate. This has been shown in almost

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\* Since this article was sent to press, the Russians have committed an outrage in the North Sea that exceeds in atrocity anything they had yet perpetrated in the present war, and which is one of the most shocking examples in history of the barbarity of naval warfare. Admiral Rozhdestvensky's warships, on October 22, fired shell for twenty minutes into an English fishing fleet, killing two men and wounding a number of others. Apparently, this barbarity was without excuse—a savage blunder or a savage crime.



every modern war in which ships have been sent out to prey upon an enemy's commerce or to harry an enemy's coast.

It is probable that, with the exception of Russia and Turkey, the entire world heard with amazement of the wanton conduct of Russian warships in disturbing and destroying the commerce of neutral nations; and that it received with a shudder the news of the sinking of a friendly ship passing in front of Port Arthur, and of the studied cruelty of the slaughter of Japanese soldiers in the two troop-ships sunk in the Sea of Japan. These were acts of deliberate wantonness, such as would have been committed by Morgan, or Kidd. That portion of the world which shuddered upon hearing of these horrors, is apt to pretend that no other nation, except Turkey, would have committed them. This shows how soon we forget our own misdeeds. While the Russian atrocities were doubtless more bloodthirsty than similar atrocities would have been if committed by English, French, or German ships, it is very probable that similar atrocities would have been committed had either of these nations been in Russia's place at the time.

"War is hell" said General Sherman, who did more than any other military leader in modern times to prove the truth of his audacious utterance. He referred to war on land of the kind that was carried on by himself, General Sheridan, and others in their bloody incursions into the Southern States, which have left a red smear across the pages of American and Christian history. Since his time, civilization has done much to make war a little less like the kind of hell that General Sherman had in view.

At sea, however, the mitigation of the savagery of war proceeds very slowly. The temptation to plunder, destroy, and kill is probably a little too great for humanity with the smell of blood in its nostrils. The people who have the



most powerful fleets always have dictated and may long dictate the rules of warfare at sea. If it serves their purpose to pillage and slaughter they will not hesitate to resort to these atrocities to accomplish their purpose, which is, of course, always righteous. Yet the nation that uses its temporary power and opportunity to plunder and kill is abhorred by all other nations who have committed similar atrocities in the past and will commit them again at the first opportunity. No country has been more prompt to harry an enemy's coast or to prey upon neutral commerce than England or the United States. England, it will be remembered, was quite willing to starve innocent French people by shutting off all traffic from the shores of France; and the American fleet six years ago did not hesitate to shell practically defenseless Spanish towns in Cuba and Puerto Rico in violation of the letter and spirit of international law.

In the present conflict with Japan, Russia has shown that, with respect to war, she is still in the dark ages. It would seem that the young Tsar, "as mild a mannered man as ever scuttled ship or cut a throat," who imagines that a saint has just presented him with an heir to the throne, and who poses as the vicegerent of God, while violating his oath to Finland and maintaining the most despotic and oppressive government on earth, has heard nothing of the advancement in mitigating the horrors of war among his western neighbors. It is true that the Emperor and his officers in the beginning of the war denounced the Japanese as semi-barbarians, and probably felt that no Christian nation was bound to respect property or life in dealing with them. This was the good old rule when Europe armed itself for the destruction of all heathen, pagans, and infidels; but Europe, outside of Russia and Turkey, no longer practises this cardinal principle of the early Church. While the modern world wages more wars than the ancient world,



and where Davids and Sauls and Cæsars slew their thousands and ten thousands, the Napoleons, Kaisers, and Tsars slay their hundred thousands, it fights at least in a more humane way. It no longer refuses quarter to beaten troops on the field, or destroys the property or lives of non-combatants, whether on land or sea. In other words, the tendency is to make war as little destructive and terrible as possible to all those who are not compelled to take part in it. But when Russia fights she wars against private property and innocent life. Her idea seems to conquer through destruction. She not only destroys the property of innocent Japanese citizens, but that of neutral nations; sinks ships that she is unable to carry into her own ports, and pours a shower of shell into Japanese troop-ships after she has torpedoed them and they are going down with their unconquered and unconquerable crews.

These atrocities have shocked the world of today as they will continue to shock the readers of the story as long as it is written and read; but it was exactly what might have been expected from Russia. Her fighters have been trained in a cruel school of war. The Russian people have been beaten and enslaved by almost every one of their neighbors in turn—by Mongol, Hun, Goth, Tatar, Turk, Pole, and Swede—and when she had the power to retaliate she retaliated in kind. Even since the ancient rules of war were modified and made less cruel through a better knowledge and a better respect by different peoples for one another, Russia has continued her old style of warfare. The distinguished general Skobelev undermined the Tatar fortress of Akhal Téké and blew it up, destroying its garrison and a vast number of innocent lives. The portion of the tribe that escaped this massacre was afterward destroyed by Skobelev's army. From such achievements it was an easy approach to the disgraceful slaughter of Japanese on sinking ships in the Sea of Japan. The Emperor of Russia has a



very exacting standard of cruelty and savagery to maintain.

There is among civilized nations or those that so designate themselves a half-recognized code, shadowy and shifting before every wind of expediency, which is known as international law. Grotius, the great father of modern international law, tried to found it upon what he called the law of nature, which he declared to be "the dictate of right reason." This principle is a noble conception; but it is totally impracticable. Moreover it is false, as nature, "red in beak and claw with ravin shrieks against the creed." The law of nature is the law of strife. Even the genial Hooker declared that while peace is the dream of philosophers war is the natural state of man. Peace can be won and maintained only through an exercise of force. The conception of Grotius, while presenting a lofty standard for human law is, unfortunately, so exalted as to be impracticable even in a closely governed municipality. As a rule controlling the mutual relations of independent states, it is utterly chimerical.

International law is a matter of convention. Perhaps the best working definition of international law is the one given by Dr Henry Wheaton, who says that it consists of "those rules of conduct which reason deduces, as consonant to justice, from the nature of the society existing among independent nations; with such definitions and modifications as may be established by general consent." While this is an admirable description of international law as it is recognized today, it leaves the code indefinite enough for the expediency of a strong, triumphant, or necessitous power. The war between Japan and Russia has given abundant evidence that the principles of international law have not yet been established by general consent and that the necessity or the expediency of the naval power that for the moment commands the sea or a square league of it, or the irresponsible commander of a half piratical cruiser, makes



'international law' to suit the moment of extreme necessity or expediency. Perhaps it will be long before a majority in force of the civilized nations of the world can exercise any control over the methods of warfare. Sir Henry Sumner Maine in his book on international law says, "When forces at work are so enormous, how shall they be controlled, diminished, or reduced by a mere literary agency?" The rules of conduct deduced by reason, as Dr Wheaton has it, or "the dictate of right reason," as Grotius has it, can never be enforced by the mere moral sentiment of mankind.

It is quite commonly asserted, and too often taken for granted, that only Christian nations observe international law. This was the contention of Russia when Japan began the war without a formal declaration—although this is no longer necessary and Russia has herself never felt under obligation to observe it. It is also asserted in Woolsey's admirable book on International Law. The inference is that international law is due to Christianity and that Christian nations alone follow its precepts and principles. But international law is distinctly a pagan creation, the outgrowth of the wars of the Greek states and of the Roman empire. On the other hand the most atrocious wars in all history have been waged by Christian nations, such as the Crusades, the religious wars in Italy, and the unutterably cruel invasion of the Netherlands by Spain. Indeed the development of international law from the state in which it was left by pagan Greece and Rome is due to scientists and the labors of jurists and students. It may even be said that Christianity increased the frequency and the horrors of war.

In the present war, for instance, savagery and barbarism have been on the side of Christian Russia, while Japan, the pagan, has proved itself as humane as it is courageous. Even Kuropatkin, beaten in a dozen battles by the genius



of his enemies, has admitted that the Japanese observe every rule of war. On land the Russians have been guilty of many atrocities, such as disfiguring the corpses of Japanese slain in battle, in not allowing noncombatants to leave Port Arthur and Liao-yang on the eve of battle, and in the harsh treatment of Japanese prisoners. On sea their methods of warfare have been utterly lawless and pitiless. They have rifled the mails of Germany, England, and America, they have subjected the commerce of neutral nations to every sort of annoyance; they have extended the list of contraband of war so as to make it include everything that could benefit private citizens of Japan; they have seized and condemned ships for carrying what other nations did not consider contraband of war; they have violated the spirit of the treaty closing the Dardanelles to war-ships and have sent merchant ships to sea in the character of piratical craft to prey upon neutral commerce; they have sunk a ship (the Knight Commander) which they could not put in charge of a prize crew; they have sunk Japanese fishing vessels and Japanese troop-ships, slaughtering their crews in cold blood. All these things they claim they have the right to do according to the principles of international law.

War on sea and war on land are still, to the shame of civilized nations, conducted under very different moral codes. In land fighting law still exercises some sway, although wavering and uncertain; but on sea there is no law except the law of might. On this subject Davis in his *International Law* says:

The usages of the ocean lag far behind the usages of the land in becoming amenable to the processes of civilization. Upon the ocean, during a war, all enemy's property, ship and cargo, when taken, are subject to condemnation and confiscation as prize. The old Adam is strong in humanity, even in the days in which we live, and this barbarous principle of the law of nations is nothing more nor less than a survival of that piracy in which all nations in the earliest historic periods universally engaged.



The 'Anglo-Saxons' who now protest against Russian barbarism in war have very convenient memories. When they were cutting each other's throats in 1812-13, an American army ravaged the town of Newark, Canada, in violation of the rules of war even in that bloody day, and England retaliated by ordering Admiral Cochrane to destroy private property wherever he could find it along the American coast. To the United States, however, belongs the credit of having made the most serious efforts to mitigate the horrors of naval warfare. Adams and Jefferson protested against its excessive savagery. And yet with these things to our credit it must be confessed that the present lamentable rules that govern naval warfare are largely due to the selfish attitude assumed by the United States in 1854, when the famous Declaration of Paris was adopted by the principal powers of Europe, in reference to abandoning privateering. The potential opportunity to strike hard and ruthlessly at the commerce of an enemy more powerful at sea than ourselves, was too strong to be resisted in the interest of a liberal humanity.

This leads to the suggestion that the same spirit that converts an honest sea captain into a pirate may convert a strong maritime nation into a freebooter at sea. The mastery of the sea makes it so easy to prey upon an enemy and to cripple him by means that would be condemned as cruel even by a body of marauders on land. On this subject Lord Wolseley gives incriminating testimony against England. "As a nation," he says, "we are brought up to feel it a disgrace even to succeed by falsehood. The word 'spy' conveys something as repulsive as 'slave.' We keep hammering along with the conviction that 'honesty is the best policy,' and that truth always wins in the long run. These sentiments do well for a copy-book, but a man who acts upon them had better sheath his sword forever."

Professor Holland, of Oxford, perhaps the leading au-



thority in England on international law, has recently said that, during a discussion in the London Times of the question whether undefended coast towns may be bombarded and destroyed, most of the writers—high authorities upon matters naval and military—spoke with scant respect of international law. Even Lord Beresford, a British admiral, asserted the permissibility of ransoming and destroying undefended sea-coast towns, “without any qualifying expressions.” This reveals the real temper of England as a naval power, and shows clearly what treatment a future enemy may expect at her hands.

With England still cherishing medieval ideals of naval war, and the United States refusing to give up privateering, it seems almost poetic justice that Russia, putting these theories into practise, should hoist us with our own petar.

The flagitious conduct of Russian vessels in this war may result in a complete revolution in international law with respect to the rights and the duties of neutral states. It will certainly result in a sweeping modification of what is now regarded as contraband of war. Every commercial nation has had just cause of complaint against Russia in her naval operations, during the occasional and brief expeditions she has been able to make at sea. She has flagrantly interfered with neutral commerce by treating fuel and provisions as contraband, by stopping ships at sea for unnecessary search, by seizing neutral mails, and by capturing as prizes and even destroying the ships of neutrals.

As to contraband, every maritime nation has sinned and sinned deeply. Possibly the greatest offenders have been Great Britain and the United States. It now suits the purposes of both countries to narrow the list of contraband, so that they may supply both belligerents and have no interruption of their oriental trade; but England once undertook to reduce the whole French people to starvation, and the United States seized goods shipped to Mexico and



Nassau under the assumption that their ultimate destination was the Confederate States of America. However, the past is past, and both the United States and Great Britain now stand, for the time at least, as supporters of a liberal contraband policy. With the sole exception of Russia, indeed, the tendency is to restrict the list of contraband to such articles only as may be used directly for belligerent purposes; that contraband must be so declared by expressed convention between or among nations; and that no single belligerent shall be permitted to define contraband so as to make it serve his own purposes in war.

Chief-justice Chase, in the famous *Peterhoff* case, announced the following luminous rule—which has been almost universally accepted—as to what articles are contraband:

Of these the first consists of articles manufactured, and primarily and ordinarily used, for military purposes in times of war; the second, of articles which may be and are used for purposes of war or peace, according to circumstances; and the third, of articles exclusively used for peaceful purposes.

Merchandise of the first class destined to a belligerent country, is always contraband; merchandise of the second class is contraband only when actually destined to the military or naval use of a belligerent; while merchandise of the third class is not contraband at all, though liable to seizure and condemnation for violation of blockade or siege.

It is gratifying to Americans to know that Franklin, Jefferson and Adams took a high stand with regard to the freedom of the sea. Jefferson strongly advocated the principle of "free bottoms, free goods;" although in the *Santo Domingo* case, in 1793, this country gave way and tamely permitted England to violate our neutrality as against France. In 1823, however, Adams, as Secretary of State, wrote as follows to the British Minister Canning:

This search for and seizure of the property of an enemy in the vessel of a friend is a relic of the barbarous warfare of barbarous ages, the cruel, and, for the most part, now exploded system of private war. As it concerns the enemy himself, it is inconsistent with the mitigated



usage of modern wars, which respects the private property of individuals on the land. As relates to the neutral, it is a violation of his natural right to pursue, unmolested, his peaceful commercial intercourse with his friend. Invidious as is its character in both these respects, it has other essential characteristics equally obnoxious. It is an uncontrolled exercise of authority by a man in arms over a man without defense; by an officer of one nation over the citizen of another; by a man intent upon the annoyance of his enemy; responsible for the act of search to no tribunal, and always prompted to balance the disappointment of a fruitless search by the abusive exercise of his power, and to punish the neutral for the very clearness of his neutrality. It has, in short, all the features of unbridled power stimulated by hostile and unsocial passions.

President Monroe also declared it was unworthy of civilized states to prey upon private property at sea.

The doctrine of free ships and free goods was first recognized, however, by France, in 1604, in a treaty with Turkey. This is strange company for France in so enlightened a purpose. The next to follow was Holland and Spain, in a treaty in 1650. In recent times, however, the United States has been, perhaps, the sincerest advocate of the principle of an open sea.

The exploits of the Russian converted cruisers in the Red Sea have brought again into prominence the crime against civilization known as privateering. These vessels were not strictly privateers, being in their nature more nearly piratical craft, as they were merchantmen that had slipped through the Dardanelles in violation of a treaty and had been converted into cruisers on the high seas, where they preyed upon neutral commerce; but they produced the same disturbing effects as privateers. On the whole subject of privateering the record of the civilized states is black with offenses against humanity. The reputation of our own country is exceedingly bad in this respect because of its insistence upon the right to commission privateers contrary to the highest sentiment of civilization. And yet as early as 1785, in a treaty with Prussia that was negotiated by Benjamin Franklin, it was stipulated that neither the



United States nor Prussia should commission privateers as against each other. The purity of the youthful conscience of the country was soon sullied and privateering became one of the chief resources of our naval forces in the wars against Great Britain. In 1854, when the principal powers of Europe wished to abolish privateering, we insisted upon preserving this relic of barbarism and piracy. It is true that we offered to consent to the abolition of privateering, if the great European powers should exempt from seizure on the high seas, all private property of the subjects or citizens of a belligerent, unless such property was contraband of war; but our refusal to abolish privateering stands against us forever. "The result of the refusal of the United States to assent to the Declaration of 1854," says Sir Henry Maine, "was that this Declaration has not become part of the general law of other civilizations, for the assent of a state which is perhaps destined to be the most powerful in the world, and certainly the most powerful neutral state in the world, has been withheld from it."

Another vestige of barbarism and piracy is the awarding of prize-money to a successful naval commander. We have had a recent and notorious example of this in the award of a large sum of money to Admiral Dewey and to his gallant captains and officers who took part in the sinking of a dozen wooden Spanish hulls in the Bay of Manila by a mere accident of war. This insignificant conflict, in which the ships of our foe were practically targets for American gunners, happened to be one of the 'decisive' battles of history, because it was the last feather that turned the heavy balance against the Spanish empire; yet it was in all other respects an inglorious conflict, which could not reflect credit even upon a naval lieutenant. The bestowing of prize-money upon the men who won this little battle is a stench in the nostrils of humanity. It sets a soiled premium upon success. While England generally bestows a sum of



money upon its soldiers who conquer savage tribes, it is done in order to enable the victor to support the dignity of a baronetcy or an earldom, with which he is also rewarded. The gift of England to its victorious captains has not, therefore, the taint of piratical booty which inevitably attaches to the prize-money of a naval commander.

The only just method of interfering with commerce at sea is by blockade. If the enemy is not strong enough to prevent intercourse with our shores, he has no right to send privateers and cruisers over the open and universal highway of the sea, to interfere with neutral traffic that is seeking our ports. It is his business to blockade the ports; and if he can not do that, he has no moral right to station ships, like highwaymen, upon the ocean roadways, to hold up and molest the commerce of the world. The time is not far distant when the great powers will put a stop to this sort of thing, and insist that there must be either an effective blockade, or absolute non-interference with neutral traffic.

The mitigation of naval warfare will come through the interference of neutral nations either after this war between Japan and Russia, or after some other conflict in which the belligerents arrogate to themselves the right to prey upon the commerce of the sea. There is no doubt that the influence of neutral states has increased more than that of belligerent states, within recent times; and it is also evident that the tendency is toward modifying the code of war still further in favor of neutral commerce. The abolition of savagery, therefore, will be in this case, as it has been in all other cases, not a question of humanity or Christianity, but of business. The trade of the world will not stand aside and wait while two hostile powers are settling their disputes. They will not permit the ocean to be the scene of depredations by either of the belligerents when crippling the other by driving traffic from its shores. It is evident that the rights of the peaceful powers today are over-



whelmily greater than, and should be predominant to, those of Russia and Japan in this war; and yet a half dozen Russian ships have been permitted to annoy, insult, and lay tribute upon the commerce of all neutral nations. It is only the nice adjustment of the European balance of power that gives Russia immunity in such an impudent and dastardly course.

The first step toward the mitigation of war at sea will probably be in the direction of making the ocean absolutely free to neutral commerce. It is remarkable that a citizen of the most military state in the world today, Prussia, should have been the first to announce clearly the doctrine of an absolutely free ocean. Kluber laid it down as a sound principle that, "On the open sea every ship is extraterritorial in reference to every state except its own: a merchant ship is to be looked on as a floating colony. Therefore a belligerent power on the open sea ought to be permitted neither to visit a neutral vessel, nor to take hostile goods out of it; still less to confiscate the ship on account of the goods found in it." And again, "A belligerent power ought to be allowed as little to confiscate neutral goods found on an enemy's vessel, as if they had been met with on the soil of the enemy's territory."

It is probable that the first definite action would be the adoption of the four principles of the famous Declaration of Paris, which would have been the rules of naval warfare today had it not been for the refusal of assent by the United States. These principles are as follows:

1. Privateering is and remains abolished.
2. The neutral flag covers enemy's goods, with the exception of contraband of war.
3. Neutral goods, with the exception of contraband of war, are not liable to capture under an enemy's flag.
4. Blockades, in order to be binding, must be effective.

The great difficulty in the way of ameliorating the conditions of naval warfare has been that the rules of war



have been made by nations at war. For this reason the laws of war at sea have been peculiarly harsh and even savage. It is but human that a strong naval power should use every means in its control to defeat its enemy; and the result is a code of international law that is written in the blood of conflict instead of being penned in times of peace and clear-sighted humanity. There are few nations, as there are few men, who like Woodsworth's Happy Warrior

"In the height of conflict keeps the law  
In calmness made, and sees what he foresaw."

The law should not only be made in calmness, but it should be enforced against belligerents by those nations that still remain out of the bloody and bewildering vortex of strife. Why should Russia be permitted to prescribe that provisions destined for the private subjects of Japan are contraband of war? Why should Russia be permitted to prescribe that fuel, sent to private citizens of the Japanese empire, is contraband? Why should Russia be permitted to capture and sink at sea a neutral vessel, merely because she does not wish to spare a prize-crew to take the ship into Vladivostok? With reference to the latter case, it is a thoroughly recognized principle that the captor has no complete title in the ship until it is adjudged his prize by a prize court; and the sinking of the *Knight Commander* was, therefore, an act of wantonness and lawlessness. Why should not England, 'mistress of the sea,' aided by Germany and France and the United States—the four vastly dominating the commerce of the world—rather prescribe law to Russia? Why should not they say that the open highways of the ocean shall be undisturbed by privateers and cruisers? Why should not they, instead of this impudent giant of the North, prescribe what shall be contraband of war, and how a neutral ship, violating the laws of neutrality, shall be dealt with at sea or in the captor's ports? Unquestionably the time must come when the great neutral powers of the world shall pre-



scribe the laws of war that will control belligerents, instead of permitting every possible atrocity under the pretext that one belligerent is legitimately crippling the forces of the other.

There is some evidence that the patience of the world has been exhausted by these Russian atrocities. For instance, the United States has served notice at Peterburg what articles it considers contraband of war. It has also notified Russia that it considers the interference with American mails on the *Calchas* a flagrant breach of treaty obligation. England has also served notice on Russia that such interference with her commerce as was made by the *Smolensk* and other cruisers, and the sinking of the *Knight Commander*, must absolutely cease. Another step taken by England, which will be, it is probable, the foundation of a new principle of international law, is what is known as the Malta Proclamation, which forbids the ship of a belligerent, on its way to the seat of war, coaling at a neutral port. At first, this seemed in violation of the well known principle of international law that requires a neutral to furnish the ship of a belligerent enough coal to make its nearest home port. It is also doubtless true that the object of England in this Malta Proclamation was not altogether disinterested and humane; but it serves a good purpose and comes at the right time. It is also absolutely sound in principle. The Russian war-ships are going from one home port to another, but the destination happens to be the seat of hostilities, and it is indisputable that they are going there to fight. England is, therefore, clearly within her rights in forbidding them to coal at one of her neutral ports.

The time has not yet arrived when international relations may be established upon a just and secure foundation; but it is appreciably drawing nearer. The true solution of all the difficulties that arise in naval warfare, with respect to neutral powers, would be the one suggested by Philli-



more, which makes it the duty of the neutral rather than of the belligerent to enforce neutrality. In one of the most remarkable opinions to be found in the whole discussion of international law, Phillimore thus sets forth the true character and attitude of the neutral. He says:

If it be the true character of a neutral to abstain from every act which may better or worsen the condition of a belligerent, the unlawfulness of any such sale is a necessary conclusion from these premises. For what does it matter where the neutral supplies one belligerent with the means of attacking another? How does the question of locality, according to the principles of eternal justice and the reason of the thing, affect the advantage to one belligerent or the injury to the other accruing from this act of the alleged neutral?

Unquestionably Phillimore is right, though generations to come may not see the adoption of his lofty views. If the United States as a power, for instance, has no right to sell munitions of war to Japan or to Russia, then, manifestly, no citizen of the United States has the right to sell munitions of war to either of these belligerents. The United States would prevent an armed expedition going from its shores to the assistance of Japan or Russia; yet it would not prevent a private firm from selling either of these belligerents ships of war or guns or ammunition. There can be no just distinction between the two acts. The duty, theoretically, rests upon the neutral to prevent the violation of neutrality. He should not leave it to the belligerent, engaged in carrying on perhaps a desperate conflict, or defending his own shores, to defend himself, also, from the violation of neutrality on the part of so-called friendly nations.



## ENGLAND AND TIBET

MUCH has been said about the English expedition into Tibet, but American readers have had very little opportunity of knowing the facts in the case. The London Times has published extensive accounts of the affair and very interesting descriptions of the country, of the city of Lassa, and of the conference of Colonel Younghusband with the Tibetan officials.

From the meager statements given by the American press the impression has been created that England had invaded Tibet and made a demand upon the Tibetans apropos of nothing but an arbitrary desire to control the country. Whatever else may be said of the English policy in Asia, this is not true. On the contrary, there already existed a treaty between England and Tibet, which was signed in 1890. During much of the time since the treaty was signed Tibet has acted in bad faith, entirely ignoring its provisions. It treated England in the most contemptuous manner, evidently in the belief that the sacred city was secure from invasion. Moreover, it became known to England that Tibet was being encouraged in its violation of the treaty by Russian officials.

England decided to send Colonel Younghusband to see about it, and he went in straightforward English fashion and demanded that affairs be straightened out, and, as might have been expected, he took pains to see that England should not be treated in the same way again. It is fair to say, however, that Colonel Younghusband and his



men treated the Tibetans with the utmost civility, respecting persons and property everywhere. While doing this, however, he refused to be put off with subterfuges and evasion, and finally entered the sacred city where he threatened to stay until matters were arranged to the satisfaction of England. The result was that a new treaty was made, of which the following is the text:

#### TREATY BETWEEN ENGLAND AND TIBET

##### PREAMBLE.

The Tibetans having paid no heed to China's counsels, and having failed to conform to the conditions of the treaty signed at Calcutta between China and Great Britain in the sixteenth year of Yung-hsu (1890) and the treaty of the nineteenth year, (1893,) owing to their containing terms of ambiguous and objectionable character, Great Britain, finding it necessary to take action on her own account, appointed Col. Younghusband, a high boundary official, as plenipotentiary to arrange a satisfactory basis with the Imperial Resident Yu for all matters that required settlement. Great Britain and the Tibetans having now agreed upon ten clauses in connection with the objectionable and doubtful points of the treaty of the sixteenth year, and the Chinese Imperial Resident Yu having duly examined the same treaty, it may accordingly be signed and sealed. After the conclusion of this treaty between China and Great Britain the inhabitants of Tibet shall not violate the terms. This is because the Tibetans failed entirely to conform to the terms of the treaties made in the sixteenth and nineteenth years between China and Great Britain, owing to their containing much that was unsatisfactory and objectionable, so that Great Britain specially appointed Col. Younghusband as plenipotentiary in frontier affairs to proceed to the frontier and negotiate. Unexpectedly hostilities were again committed, thus causing a rupture of amicable relations, but negotiations have now been opened and ten clauses definitely agreed upon in order that upon completion of the treaty and the sealing of



the same by the Dalai Lama, as head of the Yellow Priesthood, and Col. Younghusband, the Boundary Commissioner, peace may hereafter be secured.

#### ARTICLE I.

The Tibetans hereby agree, in accordance with the first clause of the treaty of the sixteenth year, to re-erect boundary stones at the Sikkim frontier.

#### ARTICLE II.

The Tibetans hereby agree to establish marts at Gyangtse and Kotako (presumably Gartok) in addition to Yatung for the purpose of mutual trading between the British and Tibetan merchants at their free convenience. Great Britain will arrange with Tibet for the alteration of all objectionable features in the treaty of the nineteenth year of Kuanghsu, and as soon as this agreement shall have been completed arrangements shall be made at Yatung, Gyangtse, and Gartok accordingly. The Tibetans having agreed to establish markets at Yatung, Gyangtse, and Gartok, merchandise purchased by Tibetans from India may be transported along existing routes, and arrangements may be made for opening marts in future at other prosperous commercial places.

#### ARTICLE III.

With regard to any objectionable features of the treaty of the nineteenth year requiring alteration a separate arrangement may be made, and Tibet will appoint a Tibetan official having plenipotentiary authority to confer with the British officials for their alteration.

#### ARTICLE IV.

No further customs duties may be levied upon merchandise after the tariff shall have been agreed upon by Great Britain and the Tibetans.



## ARTICLE V.

On the route between the Indian frontier and Yatung, Gyantse, and Gartok no customs stations may be established. Tibet shall repair any dangerous passes on the road in order to facilitate merchants traveling thereon and the prevention of difficulties. Tibet shall appoint native officials at these three places, and the officials appointed by Great Britain at these places shall have their correspondence with the Imperial Resident and other Chinese officials forwarded through the above-mentioned native officials. Similar officials shall be appointed at other flourishing places which may be opened to trade, and the same course adopted.

## ARTICLE VI.

Tibet, having disobeyed the treaties and insulted the Commissioner by the wrongful commission of hostile acts, shall pay Great Britain an indemnity of \$5,000,000, equivalent to 7,500,000 rupees, (£500,000,) payable in three yearly installments, the first payment to be on Jan. 1, 1906. When the time arrives Great Britain will first notify the Tibetans as to the place at which payment shall be made, or whether receipt may be taken thereof at the Tibetan temple at Darjiling.

## ARTICLE VII.

For performance of the conditions comprised in Articles II., III., and IV. for opening trading stations, and in the sixth clause relative to the indemnity as security for the punctual discharge of its obligations on the part of Tibet, British troops will continue to occupy the Chumbi Valley for three years until the trading places are satisfactorily established and the indemnity liquidated in full. In the event of the indemnity's not being paid, England will continue in occupation of Chumbi.

## ARTICLE VIII.

All forts between the Indian frontier and Gyantse on routes traversed by merchants from the interior of Tibet shall be demolished.



## ARTICLE IX.

Without the consent of Great Britain, no Tibetan territory shall be sold, leased, or mortgaged to any foreign power whatsoever; no foreign power whatsoever shall be permitted to concern itself with the administration of the Government of Tibet or any other affairs therewith connected; no foreign power shall be permitted to send either official or non-official persons to Tibet, no matter in what pursuit they may be engaged, to assist in the conduct of Tibetan affairs; no foreign power shall be permitted to construct roads or railways or erect telegraphs or open mines anywhere in Tibet. In the event of Great Britain's consenting to another power constructing roads or railways, opening mines, or erecting telegraphs, Great Britain will make a full examination on her own account for carrying out the arrangements proposed. No real property or land containing minerals or precious metals in Tibet shall be mortgaged, exchanged, leased, or sold to any foreign power.

## ARTICLE X.

The Boundary Commissioner Jung and the Dalai Lama will sign and seal this treaty on the 22d day of the 7th moon of the Tibetan calendar, being the 1st day of September, 1904, of the English calendar. Of the two versions, English and Tibetan, the English text shall be regarded as authoritative.



## EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE

THE Democratic managers are very much vexed with Mr Bryan for frankly admitting that Roosevelt will carry Nebraska. Of course, they all know what Mr Bryan says is true; but, from the Taggart point of view, Mr Bryan should deny it. If Mr Bryan can not carry Nebraska for Parker, what doubtful States can be carried?

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IN THE article on Wages and the Cost of Living in GUNTON'S MAGAZINE for October there occurred two errors as to dates. On page 339 it was asserted that the National Labor Bureau was established in 1876. The date should have been 1884. On page 340 it was said that Carroll D. Wright was transferred from the Massachusetts Labor Bureau to the National Bureau in 1875. It was in 1885 that Mr Wright was placed in charge of the National Bureau.

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MR BABCOCK is still pessimistic. In a recent interview he is reported as admitting that, if the election should take place today, the Democrats would have a majority in the next House. If this be true the Republican party would have Mr Babcock largely to thank for it. He has done more than any other one man to injure the cause of protection and encourage the mugwump assault on the tariff in the name of "tariff revision," as represented by the "Iowa Idea." Mr Babcock should long since have ceased to be Chairman of the Republican Congressional Committee.

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POLITICAL opinion in New York seems to be following a peculiar line of cleavage. The unpopularity of Odellism is



increasing, and the popularity of Parker is declining. This shows that the people of New York dislike Odell and his grocery politics, and distrust the party and the platform of Parker. As the days pass, the Roosevelt sentiment increases and the Higgins sentiment declines. If the present tendency of public sentiment continues, Higgins and Parker will be fellow mourners. New York will go Republican for President and Democratic for Governor. If this is the outcome, it will be a very wholesome lesson for the Republicans. The Republican machine in New York needs a thorough overhauling and a thorough cleansing.

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IN AN editorial on voting in Georgia the Boston Herald says: "In the whole state of Georgia, in the congressional election two years ago, only 880 votes were reported to have been cast against the ten Democratic candidates. And not one of these votes, as far as appears, was cast for a Republican."

If this be true it shows a remarkable unanimity of political opinion in a State with a population of two and a quarter millions. Parker will evidently have an easy time in Georgia. Why not send the political fund set aside for Georgia to Indiana or to New York, where it bids fair to be greatly needed? Really, with such unanimity of political opinion, politics in Georgia must be very monotonous.

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We pity the dulness that does not see that it is a great paper, an eloquent, sobering, and saving appeal to the American people no longer to permit themselves to be fooled and misled; we think candid men will be moved to just anger and contempt for that stupid partizanship which denies its high merits.—The New York Times, on Judge Parker's Letter of Acceptance.

It is more than probable that a large majority of the American people will be unconscious candidates for this



bounteous "pity." That the impudence that could give utterance to such drivel will receive only the contempt of sensible people is beyond doubt. Mere partizans are excused for saying the best they can for a dull paper, but to talk about "pitying the dulness that does not see in it a great paper" is insulting to the average citizen. Such stilted nonsense can do nothing to make sensible citizens vote for Parker. The Parker managers should see to it that the fool-killer makes an early call on the Times.

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THE Russo-Japanese War has entered upon its second stage. During the first stage success was clearly with Japan both on land and sea. The Tsar's proclamation recognizing the "intense energy," "stubbornness" and "high warlike qualities" of the Japanese is an open confession of Russia's defeat.

Whether Russia will fare any better in the second stage of the war remains to be seen. If the Russians are driven from Mukden or defeated at Harbin, it will be time for the civilized world to call a halt. The Tsar may be willing to sacrifice an unlimited number of lives and bring financial ruin upon Russia, but such trifling with human life and welfare should not be tolerated. The business of the world and the safety of commerce is more important to civilization than the mere prestige of Russia. The civilized world should set a limit to the wanton sacrifice of human life, the destruction of property, and the interference with commerce, merely at the caprice of a Tsar.

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THE New York Times is getting furious because its double headed 'exposure' of what it calls the "Cortelyou scandal" has been ignored by the American press. It fumes daily, sometimes with two editorials, because nobody takes it seriously.

This Cortelyou hubbub is simply a grand bluff intended



to prevent corporations from contributing to the Republican campaign fund. If Belmont could get millions from the coffers of the trusts for the Parker fund, it would be all right. Corporations do not love Roosevelt; but they can hardly be expected to contribute very liberally to elect to office the fanatics who built the St. Louis platform. The law giving the power to the Secretary of Commerce to go into the books and safes of corporations is bad doctrine and bad policy; but it is the very thing that the Democrats wanted, including the New York Times.

The simple truth about the "Cortelyou scandal" is that the corporation cash is going into the wrong coffers.

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ANOTHER Sam Parks has been discovered among New York labor representatives. This time it is Philip Weinseimer. He is charged with extorting \$2700 from George J. Essig in order to permit men to work on the Chatsworth apartment house on Riverside Drive. In the trial, there appears to be no doubt, hardly any denial, that the money was exacted and received.

This is a scandal upon labor organizations, and it is time that the unions took means to rid themselves of this kind of leadership. It is not enough that Weinseimer be sent to jail; it is far more important that labor-unions purge themselves of such characters, and of the reputation such characters give to organized labor. If this thing continues, organized labor will get into such bad repute that a member of a union will be a despised workman. No organization is strong enough to continue such practises. Nor can the unions say they are not responsible for such scoundrels. They are their chosen representatives, and if the unions do not make it too hot for such rascals to live in their organizations, they will properly be held responsible for their conduct, and suffer accordingly in public confidence and esteem.

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IN HIS Democratic appeal in the Atlantic Monthly for October, Edward M. Shepard, speaking of the Republicans, says: "We can not, they say, reduce duties; if we alter the tariff at all, its rigor must be increased."

There is nothing in the Republican platform, and nothing in the utterances of the responsible leaders of the Republican party, or of the protection sentiment of the country that justifies this assertion. All that "they say" is that the tariff should not be tinkered with now, and whenever it is changed, the work should be done by the friends of protection, and not by its enemies. Mr Shepard would have done well to leave this kind of campaigning to irresponsible spellbinders.

It is well known, he says, that President Roosevelt himself once condemned it; and his earlier speeches, after he became President, showed restlessness under it. But in his speech accepting his present nomination he went fully over to the extremest 'stand-pat' view.

True, Mr Roosevelt was once very mugwumpish on the tariff, and if he had not become a more positive protectionist, he could not, and should not, have received the nomination. The fact that he is safer on the tariff now than he was two years ago, and much safer than he was when in the New York legislature, entitles him to the confidence of the people on that subject. If a disturber of the tariff is to be elected, he should be a Democrat. Such a candidate has no place in the Republican party.

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THE Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor has just published a report on the causes of high prices. This is the oldest labor bureau in the world, and it has done some excellent work. It may be said that it laid the foundation of all the good statistical work that has been done in this country.



But it can hardly be said that this report on the cause of high prices is up to its usual standard. Instead of investigating the real causes that have affected prices, the Bureau sent out 664 letters, 604 of which were sent to the city of Boston; 40 to other cities, and 20 to towns. These letters were all sent to business men in different lines, and 151 answers were received. The opinions of the persons writing these 151 letters, classified according to the industries, together with the opinions of a number of newspapers, constitute this report. Out of the 77 that give capital as the cause of high prices, 33 attribute the rise in prices to trusts; some to stock-jobbing; some to increased freight rates; some to advertizing; some to speculation. One hundred and seventeen ascribed the high prices to labor and labor-unions; 31 of those to increase of wages, 19 to shortening of working hours, 22 to labor-unions, and so on.

Altogether, the replies are just about as intelligent as one would get by listening to the talk of a group of men on the street corner. It is doubtful if, in the thirty-five years of its existence, the Massachusetts Labor Bureau has published anything quite so devoid of scientific and enonomic value as this report on the causes of high prices.

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THE *Journal of Commerce*, a strong Parker advocate, is evidently very much disappointed with its candidate's letter of acceptance. It says: "The letter may be almost characterized as tame, not to say commonplace." The *Journal* does its best to pick out something in the letter to compliment, but it has great difficulty in finding anything except the remarks on the tariff for which it can say a good word.

Upon a second reading of Judge Parker's letter the disappointment of the *Journal* seems to have increased. In its first notice it called it tame and commonplace, but in a sub-



sequent editorial, discussing the Judge's remarks on our foreign policy, it says:

Was ever more arrant nonsense soberly submitted as a formula for the guidance of a great power in its intercourse with the rest of the world? It does not seem to have occurred to Judge Parker that the maintenance of the commercial and industrial greatness of the United States imperatively demands the adoption of a foreign policy in which vigor and resolution shall be more conspicuous than timidity or temporizing caution.

Then, in discussing our relation to South American countries, it adds:

Judge Parker shows a singular lack of judicial fairness when he seeks to convey the impression that the present Administration has at any time acted in South America as "a debt collector for foreign States or their citizens." As a matter of fact, President Cleveland's and Mr Olney's South American policy was a good deal more fruitful of occasions for trouble than that of their Republican successors.

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THE New York Times has discovered that there is a great opportunity for "reciprocity in coal." It devotes a long editorial to explaining that New England manufacturers could get great benefit from free coal from Nova Scotia, and that the coal operators of Ohio and Western Pennsylvania could get great advantage by the right to sell coal free in Canada.

The Times appears not to know that the experiment of reducing the tariff on Nova Scotia coal has recently been tried. The duty was taken off coal during the coal strike, and the New England manufacturers well know that it does not make one cent difference in the price—the Nova Scotia coal producers got all the benefit.

As to exporting coal to Canada; we do not want to dig coal for Canada. Coal is not a product that should be ex-



ported. If we really could get coal any cheaper by importation, that would be the thing to do. The coal-mining industry is one of the disturbing and degrading industries of this country. It should not be increased for export trade. The recent coal strikes in Pennsylvania and Ohio have shown the kind of citizens coal-mining develops, or rather attracts, for it is to get cheap labor into the coal mines that low and disorderly immigrants have been imported. The fewer of those we have in the country the better, and the least of that kind of industry we have the better. We should develop coal-mining only to the extent of supplying our own industrial needs. If it could be secured more cheaply from Nova Scotia, Canada, or China, then we had better import it. The only reason for not taking the duty off Nova Scotia coal is that it would not make it any cheaper, because the duty is purely a revenue duty, and to put it on the free list is simply to add to the profits of the Nova Scotia coal operators at the expense of the United States treasury.

No talk in favor of reciprocity seems too absurd for the Times to publish.

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IN THE *Atlantic Monthly* for October Congressman McCall discusses "the issue of the campaign from a Republican point of view." Mr McCall states at the outset that he does not represent the party, but merely expresses his personal views.

The article is essentially mugwump in tone, yet Mr McCall finds good reason for re-electing the Republican party to power. The strongest point in his reasoning is that if Judge Parker were elected and really attempted to steer his party away from the quicksand of unsound finance, the party would repudiate him, as it did Mr Cleveland. Hence, the only safe course to secure sound financial policy is not to trust the Democratic party.



On the question of tariff and trusts, he asks: "Is there any reason, outside of the tariff, to explain why foreign countries pay only \$21 per ton for our steel rails, when our own railroads pay \$28?" This reads like a sentence from the Democratic campaign book. Before Mr McCall asks for an explanation of a fact, he should show that the fact exists. Why should the Steel Trust sell American rails in England for \$21, when the market price in London is \$26? Only a fool would do business that way. Yet there may be economic conditions in a progressive country when it is good business and good economics to sell a part of the output in foreign countries at less than home prices. That there are reasons for this "outside of the tariff" is demonstrated by the fact that English manufacturers have been doing this for forty years.

On the question of the Philippines Mr McCall is much clearer and stronger. He shows conclusively that had the Democrats really wanted to treat the Philippines as we have treated Cuba, they had ample power to force Congress to treat the Philippines as Cuba was treated by means of a resolution like the one introduced by Senator Teller. But, "in response to the sollicitation of Mr Bryan" they voted for the ratification of the treaty. As a party, therefore, they are responsible for our Philippine policy equally with the Republicans.

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WHEN the Republicans wink at wickedness for the sake of success, the Post goes into moral spasms, but when the Democrats do, they are only using the devil for righteousness. Because the Addicks and anti-Addicks Republicans have fused on the national ticket, the Post is shocked into this convulsive utterance:

What crimes men will commit in the name of electing a President, we see again in this morning's news from Dela-



ware. The Addicks and the anti-Addicks Republicans have fused—that is corruption and decency have fallen into each other's arms in order to save the State for Roosevelt.

And pray what have the Post-Hornblower-Parker Democrats and the Tammany Democrats done in New York? The Addicks Republicans in Delaware are rotten enough, but is there any political cesspool that is viler than Tammany? Its moral stench is world wide, yet did not Judge Parker receive Murphy at Esopus? Has he not had several conferences with him at the Hoffman House? Is not the Evening Post and the purity Democrats of New York relying on Tammany to carry New York for Parker? Do they not know that if this is done it will be by the foulest kind of political methods the criminal mind can invent? The Evening Post pretends to loathe Tammany as the very mother of vice and corruption; yet it has not said one word against the "fusion" of the Parker Democrats with Tammany. Does it dare attack it now? Is not the fusion of Hornblower-Parker Democrats with Tammany a clear case of "corruption and decency falling into each other's arms in order to save the State" for Parker?

For the Post to pretend to be shocked at the fusion of the Addicks and anti-Addicks Republicans, while it and its friends are fusing with the most corrupt political gang in the world, does indeed show "what crimes men will commit in the name of electing a President."

"Better that thirty or three hundred votes were lost to Roosevelt than that a single one should be won with the Addicks smirch upon it," says the Post. Excellent ethics, but why does not the Post exclaim with the same vigor, "Better that thirty or three hundred votes were lost to Parker than that a single one should be won with the Tammany smirch upon it?" Ah! but that is a horse of another color. The Tammany criminal is helping the Post's candidate. How much depends on whose ox is gored.

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AFTER reading Andrew D. White's description of Von Plehve, the Russian Minister of the Interior, his assassination is hardly to be wondered at.

His part in the horrible massacre and plunder of the Jews, men, women, and children, at Kishinev, caused him to be regarded with abhorrence by the whole world. Even more frightful has been his connection with the destruction of the liberties of Finland. In my mind, that is the most wicked thing in the history of the last two centuries. There is no time to go into it here further than to say that it has turned the best, the most civilized, the most educated, and the most loyal province of the empire into a land in which the opposite of these characteristics is more highly developed than in any other part of the empire. Other things done by him were also calculated to bring most bitter hatred against him. . . . During two summers I lived mainly in Finland, coming frequently to Petersburg, and the transition in passing from the cultivation and civilization of Finland to the atmosphere of Russia was the most depressing I have ever known. I do not wonder at his assassination, although I deeply lament it.

This is a strong statement, and it is stronger because it is made by one of the mildest-mannered men in our public life. It tells the story of Russia's method of government; she brutalizes everything she touches. A government that rules by such repressive measures can never be strong, either in the field of industry or of war, because such measures deaden the spirit of integrity, efficiency, and individuality everywhere. It is, therefore, not surprising that, despite her boasting, Russia is cutting such a sorry figure in the present war. As the Boston Herald truthfully says:

From first to last Russia has been putting up what the boys call a monumental bluff. Her navy was to drive the Japanese from the sea, her army was to take possession of Tōkyō.

All of this has been just reversed. Despite her vast army and her comparatively strong navy, she has not won a battle on land or sea. Before the army and navy of 'little' Japan, Russia has done hardly better than China.



## BOOK REVIEWS

THE THEORY OF BUSINESS ENTERPRISE. By Thorstein Veblen. Cloth; gilt top; 400 pages. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1904. Price \$1.50 net.

This book is true to its title. The author proceeds upon the very sound principle that the life and culture of society is chiefly moulded by the character of the industrial system. He shows with great clearness and abundant illustrations that the machine-process of modern industries tends to systematize and discipline the whole people, that the approximate uniformity of process affects not only the industrial actions and social habits of the people, but also their social ideals and ethical standards; and he might have added the personal efficiency of individuals and the scientific accuracy of observation and thinking. This precision of method and habit, the author thinks, has a materializing effect; but that is only another way of saying it is more scientific. It creates a tendency to rely only on what can be reduced to some measure of scientific accuracy. This, of course, undermines the belief in divine revelation and supersitition generally, and increases the influence of exact knowledge and respect for science and the scientific spirit.

This growth of the scientific spirit tends to eliminate accident, which is another name for ignorance, from the industrial experience of society, and thereby gives a greater uniformity and prominence to industrial welfare. It has already eliminated famine from those countries where modern business methods prevail. With the further development of exact knowledge and the application of scientific method to political as well as industrial society, panics and business



depressions will also be eliminated, and material prosperity be as continuous as industrial effort.

Mr Veblin, like Matthew Arnold and Ruskin, is fearful of the material effect of the machine-process upon culture. He says:

The intellectual and spiritual training of the machine in modern life, therefore, is very far-reaching. It leaves but a small proportion of the community untouched; but while its constraint is ramified throughout the body of the population, and constrains virtually all classes at some points in their daily life, it falls with the most direct, intimate, and unmitigated impact upon the skilled mechanical classes, for these have no respite from its mastery, whether they are at work or at play. . . . It is a matter of common notoriety that the modern industrial populations are improvident in a high degree and are apparently incapable of taking care of the pecuniary details of their own life. This applies, not only to factory hands, but also to the general class of highly skilled mechanics, inventors, and technological experts.

Here our author fails to perceive certain compensations that come with this machine-method of civilization. It becomes less necessary for the average individual to provide against the accident of unemployment, because this is being gradually eliminated. Moreover, the very civilization he has described has introduced the elements of insurance, which sooner or later must be applied to wage-earners for sickness and enforced idleness as much as to machinery and other forms of property. It is a feature of modern civilization that the anxiety about the means of sustaining life is being more and more eliminated by the increased permanence and regularity of employment and the security of income, and the individual has greater freedom to avail himself of the cultural influence of social and ethical life.

This pessimistic strain in the author leads him to predict the decay of business enterprise; but he really gives little



foundation for this prophecy, and ends up with uncertainty. This is the weakest part of the book, and naturally so because it rests on wide induction as a foundation; but regardless of this defect, the book is a careful discussion of the theory of business enterprise, and abounds in wholesome suggestions, and is well worth the attention of students of economics and sociology.

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FORTY-FIVE YEARS UNDER THE FLAG. By Winfield Scott Schley, Rear Admiral U. S. N. Cloth, illustrated, 439 pages including index, \$3. D. Appleton and Company, New York.

This book was doubtless written primarily for the purpose of giving the writer's own version of the naval operations in Cuban waters during the Spanish war, particularly the blockade of Cienfuegos and the battle of Santiago, and of the regrettable controversy that followed. The chief purpose of the book is, therefore, to justify Admiral Schley's conduct in these naval operations, and to establish the claim that he was in actual command of the American fleet in the battle of Santiago de Cuba. It is not probable that this narrative and plea will lay the heated controversy that was participated in by Admirals Sampson and Schley, and their partisans, by the Navy Department, by the daily and periodical press, by political parties, and even by the Administration; but it will very greatly aid in dispelling any doubts that may yet survive as to the justification of Admiral Schley's course previous to and during the battle.

The book has sufficient justification, however, in its record of a most varied and interesting career. It gives the rather remarkable experiences of an active, courageous, and skilful naval officer from the time he went to Annapolis to the time he retired, in a cloud of censure but which was irradiated with a mild glory. Admiral Schley took an important part in the naval operations of the Civil War, where



he served under Admiral Farragut in the Mississippi and distinguished himself in the reduction of Port Hudson. He also served with distinction in our little punitive expedition to Korea and in numerous small operations in the Far East. It will be remembered also that he led the expedition that rescued Greely and his six comrades in the Polar regions in 1884. In 1891 he was off the Chilean coast and it was from his ship the *Baltimore* that the Americans went into Valparaiso to be brutally assaulted by the victorious insurgents, who suspected that the Americans had tried to give information of their movements to the Balmaceda government.

As was to be expected, a very large proportion of the volume is devoted to Admiral Schley's share in the Spanish-American war, to the proceedings of the Court of Inquiry, and to the controversy over the naval battle of Santiago. It is well known that Admiral Schley's course has been sharply censured, from the time he took command of the Flying Squadron in Hampton Roads to the time he signaled to Admiral Sampson, "This is a great day for our country." It has been charged that he was too dilatory in his blockade of Cienfuegos, too reluctant in seeking out and engaging the enemy, and that he showed lack of courage in the famous 'loop' of the Brooklyn in the battle of Santiago.

The reader of this book will ask, What has Admiral Schley gained by writing his story? He has perhaps completely justified his course at Cienfuegos by showing that the Navy Department, which censured him for dilatoriness in not going to Santiago to find Cervera, was actually of the opinion that Cervera was in Cienfuegos at the very time that Schley was blockading it. The course of the Navy Department and of Admiral Sampson was hesitating and vacillating in the extreme, and this wavering attitude of his superiors was sufficient to justify Admiral Schley in his course.



As to the battle of Santiago, there seems no longer any reasonable doubt as to who was in actual command. That Sampson was in technical command of the fleet, there is no question; but, after the account given by Admiral Schley in his book, there can scarcely be a doubt that the claim in behalf of Sampson was made merely to place him in a position to receive credit for an action which he did not plan, did not fight, was not present at, and could not reach in time to witness, and acted very ungenerously about after it had been won by his second officer in command. On this point Admiral Schley says:

If the battle here related had miscarried, or if through mismanagement Cervera or any of his ships had escaped that day, there would have been no difficulty whatever about who was in command, or who would have had to bear the censure. It is as certain in that event that there would have been no effort to prove that the New York was within signal distance, no claim that it was a captains' battle, nor any other of the sophistries that were invented in the aftermath of controversy about this great victory.

Admiral Schley justifies the famous 'loop' of his flag-ship the Brooklyn showing that Cervera had succeeded in breaking through the American battle-line, and that, as the first disposition of the Americans, which was for the purpose of sinking the Spaniards as they emerged from the harbor, had failed, it was necessary to make at once a new disposition. To do this the loop of the Brooklyn was made necessary, and, according to Admiral Schley this maneuver saved the day. That it was not a cowardly shrinking from battle is evident from the fact that the Brooklyn stood the united fire of the Spanish fleet for twenty minutes and was the first American ship to reach and stop the fleeing Colón. He also disposes of the ridiculous fiction that there was any danger of the Brooklyn ramming the Texas.

It is remarkable that the Navy, possibly with the view of



establishing discipline, persists in its claim for Admiral Sampson, and in aspersing the motives and censuring the conduct of Admiral Schley. Outside of the Navy, Admiral Schley is almost universally considered as the victor of Santiago, and history will so regard him.

The book is written in a simple, unadorned style, which adds to its effectiveness. The hand that wrote it is evidently more accustomed to the hilt of the officer's sword than it is to the quill, and yet it is capable of a certain vigor and charm. It will unquestionably do much to clear up the cloudy points of the famous controversy and to insure a just estimate of the Admiral who so gallantly swept the Spanish flag from the Spanish main.

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JOURNALISM AND LITERATURE. By H. W. Boynton. Cloth; 226 pages, \$1.25 net. Houghton, Mifflin and Company, Cambridge, Mass.

Readers of the Atlantic are already familiar with some of these interesting essays, but all of them are worth a second reading and of being preserved. The one on Journalism and Literature gives the title to the volume and sounds the key-note of the entire collection, all of the essays being bound together by a common thread, very thin at times but always clearly traceable.

Mr Boynton's principal point has been made many times before, that journalism is not literature. If journalism were literature there would have been no occasion for the writing of this delightful essay or of many other passages on the same subject in all modern literatures. "The real business of journalism," he says, "is to record or to comment, not to create or to interpret."

But is not this the object of all literature?—using the term 'literature,' for the moment, without reference to artistic results. To record and comment—the comment being the personal element—really constitutes literary art,



which must be based on facts, or on truth, which is the greatest of all facts. Walter Pater says: "Truth; there can be no merit, no craft at all, without that." Again in the same exquisite and immeasurably important essay, the one on Style, Pater says, "beauty is in the long run only *fineness* of truth." When Pater said this, he said about all that could be said of true literary art; whether that art is applied to the creation of Divine Comedies, Hamlets, Henry Esmonds, or an editorial article in a daily paper or a reporter's account of a police court trial. If the work is a mere record or an unilluminated comment, we suppose Mr Boynton would class it, as every one else would, as mere journalism. If it happens to be recorded in as succinct and incisive a style as Tacitus used in his Annals, or is irradiated by personal comment, such as Macaulay—who was really a great babbling journalist and wide sower of words—or as Livy would have made in an account of a similar event, it would be literature.

Mr Boynton, however, thinks that literature is inspired art, that its products are due "to that expression of personality through craftsmanship which we call genius," and that "pure journalism has no need of genius." To establish his point, Mr Boynton would have to limit journalism to the class of work generally seen in the newspaper press, but allow literature unlimited boundaries. It is, of course, clear that none of the work of even the greatest of journalists like Girardin, Greeley, or Dana, can approach the best work of Dante, Shakspeare, Goethe, or Molière; it can not even approach the best work of Thackeray, Arnold, or Flaubert. But this is a question of power, and not of journalism or of literature. There is no real competition, no rivalry. The journalist works in the minimum of time, in the minimum of space, in the minimum of thought, and for the hour or the day; while the literary artist labors with a large leisure, with the unrestrained play of imagination,



and for all time. And yet, while the best journalistic work is infinitely below the best literary work it is not so far below it as is very much of the work that is generally classified as literature.

Journalism is not produced with any pretense that it is literature, any more than a sign painter imagines he is producing a Last Supper or a Holy Family. The only point of contact between journalism and literature is in the material handled by both. It frequently happens that the journalist is a literary artist who has, under pressure, resorted to journalism for a livelihood, and later may flower into literature. It may be that his journalistic experience may help him or it may hinder him; it may prove a clog to his feet, or it may serve as wings to his soul. It is to be questioned how much quickening power was given to Kipling and to Heine by their journalistic experience, and what beneficial effect the exigent demands of the weekly *feuilleton* had upon De Maupassant in stimulating his powers of observation, in sharpening his vision, in increasing his appreciation of effects, and in giving to him the power of phrase and curtness of style.

One of the most important points made by Mr Boynton is as to the influence popular taste in America may have upon literature. He says:

The popularity of journalism in America has reacted upon most of our magazines so strongly that they are distinguished from the better daily journals by exclusion of detail and modification of method rather than by essential contrast in quality. Upon the character of the daily press, that is, depends the character of our entire periodical product; and this means, in large measure, the character of public taste.

It is already evident that the magazine of today is but an efflorescence of the newspaper. It is quite probable, therefore, that the literary artist, noting the great success of the



paper and the periodical, may lower his art to catch popular favor. But if we are to have a great literature it will come in despite of journalistic methods in our magazines; and it is even possible that the keenness of observation, fine appreciation of effect, and the crispness of style—"as definite as an infant's expression of its needs"—may aid in the foundation and in the creation of this literature.

All the essays in this book deserve careful reading. The chief value of the volume is, however, this admirable essay on Journalism and Literature. No one who has given the subject any thought whatever can read this without having his ideas enlarged by the judicious arrangement of its facts and examples and by its suggestiveness.

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INDIAN LIFE IN TOWN AND COUNTRY. By Herbert Compton. \$1.20, \$1.30 by mail. Cloth, 280 pages, illustrated. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London.

Mr Compton is evidently familiar with India and he is also evidently not in love with the country. It would have been better if a more appreciative writer had been selected for a book of this kind. It leaves a disagreeable taste in the mouth to have to swallow so much of the soil of India in so brief a banquet. The chapters devoted to Manners and Customs, to Caste, and to Ladies Last describe a condition of affairs so nauseating as to condemn British rule in India—if England is responsible.

On the other hand, much interesting and valuable information may be found in the book. The first chapter on India as It Is gives a short and effective sketch of the country with relation to its great variety of peoples, tongues, and customs, and alone is sufficient to give unquestioned value to the book.

Like most intelligent writers of the present day, Mr Compton takes a liberal view of caste. He says, "notwithstanding that it is unreasonable and unreasoning, unjust,



arbitrary, and cruel, caste is a great moral force." This is not the missionary view, but it is unquestionably the correct one.

The author pays high respect to the intelligence of the Hindu while condemning his moral character. After saying that he is narrowminded, parsimonious, and avaricious, cheats and lies by the light of nature," he adds that his natural powers are so great that he puts the Englishman to shame, and that "were all places in the Indian government thrown open to examination in India, we should probably see the administration filled with Bengali Babus, and Mah-ratta Bramins."

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THE UNIT BOOKS. LIFE OF JESUS. By Ernest Renan. 444 pages, 68 cents net. DOMESTIC MANNERS OF THE AMERICANS. By Frances M. Trollope. 394 pages, 64 cents. THE STUDY OF WORDS. By Richard Chenevix Trench. 312 pages, 56 cents. NATIONAL DOCUMENTS. 496 pages, 72 cents. Howard Wilford Bell, New York.

When Howard Wilford Bell announced the publication of a series of books that are worth reading, printed on good paper, with clean legible type, and at a remarkably reasonable cost, the reading public, which has little money to spend, looked forward to it with great expectancy. The first three books, *The Marble Faun*, *Letters and Addresses of Lincoln*, and *Poe's Tales of Mystery*, appeared some time ago, and were excellently received. The four volumes constituting the second batch will undoubtedly be welcomed as heartily.

Of three of the books it would be idle to add a word except to recommend them to readers of limited purses. The volume on *National Documents* deserves, however, a word of special commendation, as it brings together in convenient and cheap form the most important documents in American history.



## PROGRESS OF THE MONTH

### **The Political Situation**

Although the election is only a few weeks off, the present campaign is one of the duller and most apathetic in the history of this country. If the Democrats had not already richly deserved defeat by reason of their conduct in the Chicago Convention, and by their failure to nominate a candidate who would appeal to the country, the apathy with which they have conducted the campaign would be sufficient to justify their overwhelming defeat. Judge Parker has been a tremendous disappointment by reason of his failure to appreciate the situation and to grasp the real issues that this campaign should have brought out. It is hardly too much to say that everything he has done or said, with the exception of his gold telegram, and one or two spirited utterances in his rare speeches, has injured rather than helped his party.

Only one or two incidents in the campaign have attracted general attention. One of these was the remarkable reception given to Grover Cleveland on the occasion of his recent speech in New York. Even the Republican press admitted that this was beyond anything since the days of Lincoln. This magnificent ovation to Mr Cleveland is perhaps a revelation, too late to be availed of and merely provocative of remorse, of the ignorance and stupidity displayed by the Democratic Convention. Whether or not Mr Cleveland would have been successful as a candidate against Mr Roosevelt, it is, in the light of this New York demonstration, very apparent that he remains the principal national figure in Democratic imagination.

Another feature of the campaign has been the so-called exposure of President Roosevelt's attitude in the Panamá



Revolution. It seems that Mr Roosevelt wrote a letter to Dr Albert Shaw October 10, 1903, in which he explained his turning to Panamá instead of Nicaragua as the site for the canal. After saying that he "cast aside the proposition made at this time to foment the secession of Panamá," he adds, in parenthesis: "(Privately, I freely say to you that I should be delighted if Panamá were an independent State, or if it made itself so at this moment; but for me to say so publicly would amount to an instigation of a revolt, and therefore I can not say it.)" Although this letter was published nearly a year ago, its reproduction at this time has made a sensation and has given the Republicans something to explain.

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**Beginning of the End  
in Panama** One may perhaps see in the little cloud of trouble in Panamá the beginning of a tempest in a teapot that will result in the extinction of the Panamá Republic and the cotemporaneous expansion of the bounds of this country. A republic that was founded in greed and for whom a great nation in its hour of weakness stood as guilty sponsor, may expect to end in disaster.

It was also to be expected that the United States would soon be embroiled with these hotheaded Panamanians. Trouble has already arisen over the custom duties of the American zone, and the little government of this fragmentary republic—hopelessly cloven by a wedge of Yankee territory—resents the too paternal solicitude of the United States. President Roosevelt has felt called upon to make a remarkable departure from precedent and send Secretary Taft to the Isthmus as an envoy extraordinary. Whether or not Mr Taft will succeed in smoothing down the ruffled plumage of this bantam cock among the nations, the affair is little to the credit of the United States. One can almost see descending from the northern sky the fate of the Isthmus.



**The Decrease in  
Lynching**

For more than ten years there has been a very notable decrease in the number of lynchings, particularly in the South. It has been the custom to consider lynching as a peculiarly Southern or Western crime; but recently there have been a number of lynchings in Northern States.

The record still stands against the South, and, since 1885, of the 2875 lynchings the South is credited or discredited with 2499; while the Northern States—that is the States north of a line drawn east and west across the country from the northern boundary of Maryland—is credited with a total of 376.

The most encouraging inference to be drawn from the record of lynching, as compiled by the Chicago Tribune, is that there has been a most gratifying decrease in the total number for the country. In 1885 there were 210 lynchings. In 1892, which was the high-water mark, there were 236. The following year, the record fell to 200, and it has not reached the 200 mark since. In 1902 there were only 96 lynchings, in 1903 there were 104, and the tendency to decrease has been strongly apparent ever since 1892.

Mississippi holds the bad eminence in lynchings, with a total of 298 since 1885. The only States that are without spot or blemish in this respect are Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, and, *mirabile dictu*, Utah.

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**Our Homicidal  
Railway Management** Nearly ten thousand persons were killed on the railways of the United States last year.

This makes a grand total of persons killed since 1894 of 78,152, or an average of nearly 8000 a year. The magnitude of this useless slaughter, this offering of life to the minotaur of the railway, may be appreciated when it is compared with the loss of life in actual warfare. More



persons were killed on the railways of the United States last year than Spain and the United States lost in the recent war, and more than Japan lost in the great battle of Liao-yang. Two or three years of railway management are as costly in human life in this country as the Manchurian war will probably be to Japan. This is a shocking state of affairs. Every year the number of killed on American railways is equal to the population of an average city.

One of the most gruesome features of the record is that there has been a tremendous increase in the slaughter. In 1895 the railways killed 6136; in 1900 the yearly hecatomb was swelled to 7865; while in 1904 it rose to 9984.

There can be no satisfactory explanation of this useless slaughter. In England last year there was not a single death due to the railways. It is an everlasting reproach and stain upon our business management that it is necessary, in order to have fast trains and adequate railway facilities, to slaughter ten thousand people a year. Our railways, with all their boasted speed, are still behind some of the French railways in rapidity as well as security; and in England, where human life is as secure on a railway as it is in church, there are several railways that make as good speed as ours.

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**United States to Call  
a Peace Congress** While the peace delegates were in session in St Louis, President Roosevelt announced that he would soon issue an invitation for another international peace congress. Inasmuch as two of the great powers of the world were at war at the time, one of these being the promoter of the first peace conference at The Hague, Mr Roosevelt's announcement was generally deplored as premature. It is now understood that Secretary Hay will soon draft an invitation for another conference at The Hague, the conference to be held after the termination of hostilities between Japan and Russia.



As has been observed in this department, there has seldom been a period more unpropitious for a proposal for universal peace. One tenth of the human race is now engaged in a desperate conflict, England has barely emerged from a bloody incursion into Tibet, a revolution is just simmering to its ghastly end in South America, Germany still fights for brute conquest in Africa, while England is in a decidedly belligerent temper with regard to Russia. But if the old proverb, in time of peace prepare for war, is true, there is no reason why it should not be reversed, 'in time of war prepare for peace.' The invitation can do no harm, and it is a showy and commendable thing on the part of a nation so powerful as to be almost beyond the fear of war.

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**More Russian  
Atrocities**

After the sinking of the Knight Commander, the ruthless interference with commerce in the Far East, and the rifling of the domestic mail of other countries, it seemed that Russia had reached the bounds of brutality. This delusion was rudely dispelled by one of the most barbarous atrocities in all history. On October 22, while the Hull fishing fleet was engaged in its peaceful vocation in the North Sea, the Russian Baltic fleet, known as the Second Pacific Squadron, appeared through the mist. The moment the Russians discovered these innocent trawlers in their path, it seemed that the entire fleet was thrown into dismay because of the ever-present fear of Japanese torpedo-boats. The Russians formed into line of battle and poured shot and shell into the fishing smacks for twenty minutes, killing at least two English fishermen and wounding quite a number of others besides sinking some of the boats. It is also asserted that some of the smaller Russian vessels remained on the scene for six hours without even offering assistance to the men, whom they had wantonly injured.



There can be no possible explanation of this brutality that will acquit the Russians of either panic, cowardice, wanton brutality, or deliberate hostility. Even if the extreme nervousness of the Russian officers magnified these fishing smacks into Japanese torpedo-boats the Russians continued the firing long enough to discover their error. The least that humanity could have demanded was that, after wrecking these boats and slaughtering and wounding their crews, the brutal blunderers should have offered some assistance to their victims. Altogether the incident is utterly discreditable to Russia and is one of the most savage occurrences in modern history. King Edward was fully justified in characterizing it as "unwarrantable."

England took immediate steps to enforce reparation, but reserved her demands awaiting an explanation from the Russian fleet. In the meantime she ordered her three fleets, which are within striking distance of the Russian squadron, to be in readiness to attack the Russians if necessary. It is remarkable that, in the present temper of the English people, the act was not immediately construed as it unquestionably was—as an act of war. England would have been justified by mankind if she had immediately attacked and sunk the Russian squadron. In many respects it is to be regretted that she did not do so, as these panic stricken Russians seem to be running amok and are a peril to civilization.

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**The Russo-Japanese  
War**

The war in the Far East has recently begun to assume the destructive aspects which have long been expected. There is hardly a precedent for the deliberate groping or feeling out the strength of the enemy that was shown by both Russians and Japanese up to the desperate fighting at the neck of the Liao-tung peninsula. Up to that moment neither adversary was ready to engage in a decisive struggle; but since the fighting around Nan-shan the struggle has been more desperate and



the destruction of human life has been greater. The great battle of Liao-yang, which was at first expected to be decisive of the present campaign at least, proved to be almost fruitless, except in so far as it was a crushing blow to Russian prestige and a great moral victory for the Japanese.

Since Liao-yang, there has been but one serious conflict, the terrific ten days' battle of the Shakhe. This battle was peculiar in many respects. It had been preceded by a long period of calm, each army bringing up with all possible despatch ammunition and reenforcements. Suddenly Kuropatkin decided that it was time for the Russians to turn upon their enemies. He issued a most ridiculous and bombastic proclamation in which occurred the following:

"Heretofore the enemy in operating has relied on his great forces, and, disposing his armies so as to surround us, has chosen as he deemed fit his time for attack, but now the moment to go to meet the enemy, for which the whole army has been longing, has come, and the time has arrived for us to compel the Japanese to do our will, for the forces of the Manchurian army are strong enough to begin a forward movement."

Unless such a proclamation were followed up by a decisive victory, the boaster would inevitably be subjected to the ridicule of the world. This was the fate of Kuropatkin. He hurled his forces, which were superior in numbers to the Japanese, upon Oyama's greatly extended line and succeeded momentarily in subjecting it to distress and perilous pressure. Oyama, however, with that perfect mobility for which the Japanese have become famous, rapidly concentrated his forces, turned upon the Russians and inflicted one of the most terrific blows that a modern army has suffered in battle. Day after day the Russians were driven back, losing guns and men and ammunition. They, finally succeeded in making a stand at the town of Shakhe, where the



two armies are now confronting each other awaiting an opportunity for the next death grapple.

Had Oyama been a little better supplied with fresh troops he could have driven home his victory and crushed Kuropatkin. As it was, he inflicted a loss of about 14,000 killed and and some 40,000 to 50,000 wounded upon the Russians, while suffering a loss in killed and wounded of only about 15,000 men. These figures alone indicate the terrific disaster to the Russian army. The Russians also lost 45 guns and vast stores of ammunition and supplies.

General Gripenberg has been appointed by the Tsar to command a second army, which is being mobilized, but which can hardly reach the seat of war before next spring. The Russians threaten to have 600,000 troops in Manchuria next spring.

The famous Baltic fleet has finally started from Russian home waters for the Far East. It consists of 7 battle-ships, 2 armored cruisers, 2 protected cruisers of the first class, 1 of the second class, and 3 of the third class, and twelve torpedo-boat destroyers; it has also a number of auxiliary cruisers with two repair ships and five colliers. The battle-ships are mostly new, but are smaller than the three principal battle-ships of Japan, and it is quite probable that the six Japanese battle-ships are a match for the seven Russians. In armored cruisers and in protected cruisers the Japanese are overwhelmingly superior, having 8 of the first and 15 of the second class, together with 7 unprotected cruisers and at least 20 torpedo-boat destroyers.

The Baltic fleet is expected to reach Japanese waters sometime in February, at a time when Vladivostok will be ice-bound. Port Arthur will then be Japanese territory, and the Russian fleet will have to show what it can do on the water against the superior seamanship, courage, skill, and ingenuity of the Japanese.



# GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

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## AN EMPHATIC MANDATE

ON THE 8th of November the American people served explicit notice on the Democratic Party that it has not yet acquired sufficient economic sanity to be entrusted with the administration of the nation's affairs. The overwhelming majority given to the Republicans throughout the country was something of a surprise to everybody. Not even the most optimistic dared to predict any such tidal wave as was rolled up on election day. The result shows that down at the bottom the American people can be trusted. Sometimes they may be carried off their feet by a sentimental crusade, but, given time enough, they can be trusted to sustain the party with a wholesome business policy—the pleadings of doctrinaries to the contrary, notwithstanding.

This election ought to have some lessons for the Democrats. Their leaders ought to learn something from it. This year they had a great opportunity, but they lost it through sheer want of political sense and economic sanity. For three national campaigns they have played the fool, and been snowed under. If they can not learn from such emphatic and obvious lessons, they are as hopeless as the rich man in the parable—they would not learn “even though one arose from the dead.”

In 1892 the American people were temporarily swept off their feet by a wave of academic economic sentiment, and they paid the penalty in four years of panic and industrial disaster which has no equal in the nation's history. The most astonishing feature in this connection is that the leaders, the best brains and managers of the Democratic Party,



learned nothing by that experience. The people awoke to their error. They promptly realized their mistake, but the Democratic Party, whose policy caused the disaster, learned absolutely nothing. Cleveland and his followers, including the mugwumps and the professional doctrinaires, looked on at the business disruption, panic, enforced idleness, and soup-kitchens with stolid indifference. They closed their eyes to the fact, so obvious to everybody else, that this business disturbance had come chiefly through the avowed purpose of the Administration to slaughter the tariff. There were other causes which contributed to the result, but that this was the chief and immediate cause of the wreckage is too obvious to be questioned by any fair observer. It was no sooner known that Mr Cleveland and a Democratic Congress had been elected, with the avowed purpose of slashing the tariff, than all expansion of industry ceased, and rapid contraction of investments and financial accommodation to protected industries set in. In less than a month after the election returns were in, bankruptcies began to roll up apace, and before Cleveland was inaugurated the nation was in the throes of an industrial panic.

A tremendous effort was made by the supporters of the Administration to create the belief that this business disaster was due to the Sherman Silver Law. An extra session was called, and within five months after Mr Cleveland took office the silver-purchasing clause of the Sherman Act was repealed. Yet the repeal of that law had no more effect upon the industrial depression than have falling snowflakes on the back of a crocodile. The business calamity persisted until the Cleveland régime ended.

One would have thought that four years of such calamitous experience would have taught at least the more sagacious party leaders the folly of such a policy. Not so. Neither wing of the party learned aught from this experience. There is no similar instance of party obtuseness in



the history of popular government. Mr Cleveland and the mugwump professional element of the party persisted in advocating the disrupting policy of free trade, just as if nothing had occurred. The rest of the Democratic Party, under the leadership of Bryan, went mad in pursuit of economic vagaries. In 1896 the Democratic Party was a fanatical mob, organized into a crusade against successful enterprise, and the established economic and financial institutions of the country. Although the Democratic leaders had learned nothing, the American people had; and the Bryan crusade was voted down.

With the defeat of Bryanized Democracy, and the assured return to protective policy and stable finance, business confidence returned, industrial activity began, and prosperity again soon reigned throughout the land. This continued increasingly throughout the McKinley administration. One would have thought that this would have made some impression on the political thinking of the Democrats; but it did not. They learned no more by the return of prosperity with the Republican policy, than they did by the coming of disaster with their own policy. They seemed to be thoroughly immune to the lesson of experience. After four years of prosperity under a return to the traditional policy, they repeated their folly of 1896 by reaffirming the Chicago platform, and declaring for all the economic heresies of the Bryan campaign.

Again the American people voted down the Kansas City platform with more emphasis than ever. During the next four years financial stability continued and public confidence and business prosperity increased as never before in this or any other country. Industrial development and business expansion were simply marvelous. It amazed the whole world, and positively frightened the capitalists of Europe. This extraordinary progress has done much to influence a change of party opinion in England toward a re-



turn to a protective policy. It was generally believed that by this time the Democratic Party had begun to learn a little economic sense and political sagacity. It was thought that it would at least modify its attack upon protection and cease its fanatical crusade against the business interests of the country. That the obvious success and firm establishment of the gold standard would lead it to abandon its free silver heresy was taken for granted; but not so. In 1904 it clung to every heresy it had ever announced. The mugwump doctrinaires had learned nothing on the tariff, and the Bryanites had learned nothing on the money question and business methods.

As already remarked, this was a year of great Democratic opportunities. Mr Roosevelt had created a great deal of apprehension in many quarters through his personal rashness, his doubtful attitude on protection, and his well-nigh persecuting attitude toward corporations. This feeling of distrust of the personal characteristics of the President was very marked among the various groups of the business interests of the country. There was a very large smattering of Republicans who were not in accord with the spirit of imperialism which he manifested in a multitude of ways. This was so strong that at one time there was good ground for doubt that he would receive the nomination. If Senator Hanna had lived and had been a well man, that might have been quite within the possibilities. All this tended to create a real opportunity for the Democrats, either to elect a President or come so very near to it as to establish a respectable and responsible opposition, and lay the foundation for success in 1908. This could have been possible, however, only on the condition that on the questions where Roosevelt was rash, the Democracy should be sane and safe, and that its attitude toward the great business and financial interests of the country should be moderate and conservative. It should be noted here that there were a few men in the Democratic



Party who saw the significance of the situation, and curiously enough, these were in the South. Senator Bacon, of Georgia, in an interview just before the St Louis Convention, strongly urged the Democratic Party to abandon the silver issue, recognize the successful establishment of the gold standard, and adopt a moderate conservative policy toward the tariff and business enterprise. Senator Bacon recognized the importance of convincing the American people that the Democrats could be entrusted with the administration without ruining the industries of the country. Had this policy been adopted in the platform, and a frank, characterful candidate nominated, who represented the spirit of conservatism and modern industrial methods, there are abundant reasons for believing that the Democratic Party might have had an even chance of success. It would have received the support of numerous business interests of the country. Under such a policy it had a fair chance of carrying New York and a large portion of the doubtful States with a possibility of success. But, alas! Senator Bacon was nearly a lone swallow, and did not make a summer. He did not represent the Party, but only reflected the views of a few of its more rational members.

As before remarked, the Cleveland Democrats had learned nothing, and were as rabid on the tariff question as ever, and the great mass of Bryan's followers had learned nothing on the silver question, and clung to all the fallacies of the Kansas City platform. The St Louis Convention adopted a platform in all important respects as bad as either the Chicago or Kansas City platform. It was really a fanatical declaration against all the conditions that make for industrial prosperity in this country. Instead of being moderate and conservative on the tariff, it denounced protection as robbery and declared for war on large corporations and the extermination of trusts. If that platform had been transformed into public policy, nothing could have prevented the



repetition of the Cleveland era. A more reckless, unstatesmanlike, and dangerous document could hardly have been issued by a body of anarchists. The moment that platform was adopted, the Democrats were lost, as they thoroughly deserved to be. The speeches of party leaders like John Sharp Williams and Congressman Bourke Cockran, which were afterward made campaign documents, were simply inflammatory Philippics against the industrial interests of the country.

Despite this impossible platform there remained a faint hope that the Democratic Party might rise to the occasion, and still make some show of sense and sanity through the statesmanlike character of its candidate. After Judge Parker's gold telegram this hope was increased, and the nation was assured that the candidate would be a platform unto himself. It was hoped that he would ignore the St Louis document and shape the policy of his administration on sane conservative lines and insure an administration that would not disturb business. Had the election occurred within ten days or two weeks after the nomination, Judge Parker might have carried New York, and perhaps the country; but as the campaign progressed the fool element got the upper hand everywhere. The literature sent out by the campaign committee and the editorials of the Democratic press, became more inflammatory and scandalous as the days went by. When Judge Parker broke his silence in his notification speech, and then in his letter of acceptance, it was manifest that the strong, characterful statesman the Democrats had promised was only a weak gentlemanly partizan. Instead of rising above the platform, he dropped to the level of its worst planks. His discussion of the great industrial questions was a mere rehashing of hackneyed party phrases. They showed an unfamiliarity with live economic questions and an utter lack of virile touch and helpful leadership. His discussion of the tariff and trusts



was hackneyed and puerile. The deadening effect of all this upon Democratic prospects was manifest throughout the country.

Mr Roosevelt's letter of acceptance, on the other hand, was a vigorous, straightforward, comprehensive, and masterful deliverance. This perceptibly increased his strength throughout the country. It did much to remove that lurking fear of his rashness which was so prevalent during the summer before the nomination.

After this the Democratic press adopted a still lower method of warfare. Having practically lost all hold of public respect and confidence in the discussion of issues, it fell to abuse of Mr Roosevelt and Mr Cortelyou, Chairman of the National Committee. The New York Times raised a cry that Mr Cortelyou, as the personal agent of the President, was blackmailing corporations out of large contributions to the campaign funds. His weapon of extortion was knowledge of their affairs that he had obtained in his official position as Secretary of the Department of Commerce and Labor. During the last days of the campaign this was nearly the only issue. It was taken up by all the papers and speakers. For nearly two weeks the New York Times did not have a single issue without an editorial of that subject. This howl about honesty became "the last resource of the scoundrel."

In this, as in everything else, Judge Parker dropped to the level of the worst element of his party. He took up this hypocritical cry about "buying the Presidency," and made personal charges against the President. This was hailed everywhere by the Democrats as a knock-out blow. Within forty-eight hours Mr Roosevelt, who had been silent during the whole campaign, replied to Judge Parker's scandalous attack in characteristic Rooseveltian fashion. His letter was one of his best. He gave the unqualified lie to Judge Parker and his abettors in such frank, straightforward,



and unqualified manner that the whole nation believed him. Parker fell with a thud, the bottom dropped out of his whole campaign, and all hope, not merely of success, but of a respectable Democratic vote, vanished. In many respects, this was the most scandalous feature of a notoriously hypocritical campaign.

While this campaign has been comparatively free from personal scandal, it has been characterized by more hypocrisy than any campaign in this generation. The reckless and utterly unscrupulous talk about the robbery of the tariff; the bare-faced assertions that wages have fallen, while prices have risen, the sensational stories about domestic consumers being robbed to sell goods cheaper abroad, and the crowning cry about trust contributions were, in the main, a batch of dishonest pleas. The leaders of the party, and especially the great newspapers like the *New York Times* and *Evening Post*, which led this hypocritical onslaught, did not believe anything of the kind. They may believe that free trade is a sounder policy than protection, but none of them believes that there is a conscious corrupt compact between the protected interests of the country and the Administration. They do not believe that wages have not risen, and that the masses are not vastly better off than they were eight years ago. All this was downright hypocrisy, devised to create sensational distrust of the Administration. The Bryan party advocated heresies, it attacked capital and corporations; but it did so through honest belief in mistaken notions. But the *New York Times* and Grover Cleveland and Judge Parker and others like them know better. A more scandalous display of economic and political hypocrisy has never disgraced a popular election. The outcry against corporation contribution was perhaps the most hypocritical of all.

The people's estimation of the capacity, wisdom, and safety of the Democratic Party, as at present organized, was registered at this election. In all respects, Judge Parker



proved a weaker candidate than Bryan. Mr Bryan stood for certain ideas, and he advocated them with vigor and consistency that at least showed integrity of convictions and ability of leadership, in comparison with which Judge Parker was a political Lilliputian. With the St Louis platform and Parker, the Democratic Party has shrunk back to its smallest dimensions after the War. In the electoral college just chosen it represents nothing but the South, and not all of that.

Thus through its disreputable platform and its dishonest campaign, the Democratic Party has lost the power even to perform the functions of a wholesome opposition. It has shriveled to the dimensions of a negligible party. This is a misfortune, not alone to the Democratic Party, but to the nation. It is very important to wholesome government that there be a strong opposition party. Undisputed authority is always dangerous. No administration can be relied upon to be clean and public-spirited if it is beyond the power of criticism and check by an opposition party. Witness the South during the reconstruction period.

All this is the natural result of the persistent determination to antagonize the traditional policy demanded and so often affirmed by the American people. The people of this country are determined to have a protective industrial and a constructive financial policy. The overwhelming majorities at this election show that this determination is stronger than ever, and that they will have none of the disrupting business and monetary vagaries so persistently urged by the Democrats.

The election returns constitute an emphatic mandate to continue the policy of the present Administration. If the Democratic Party ignores this positive warning—if it can learn nothing from this crushing defeat—then it will remain, as it ought to, under the ban of the American electorate. No free-trade-semi-socialistic-anti-wealth party ought to have any standing in the politics of the United States.



## THE DEMOCRACY OF TOMORROW

THE Democratic Party is the oldest political organization in the country. It represents certain definite and fundamental principles of prime importance to popular government. More than any other party, it stands for the democratic principles of popular representation, the decentralization of authority, and the sovereignty of the individual as embodied in the basic law of the land, the Constitution.

Although it represents these fundamental principles of free government, it has frequently been unfortunate in its leadership. It has more than once staked its fortunes on specific issues that were contrary to the trend of progress and antagonistic to the national interests and policy, and, it has encountered severe defeats.

The first instance of mistaken leadership and policy was its position on the slavery question. It staked its fortunes on the defense of slavery, which, in the nature of things and in the trend of civilization was bound to go. Its position was a defense of the impossible. The voice of civilization and the policy of the American people were against it, and its defeat was so crushing as to paralyze its political usefulness for a quarter of a century. This defeat deprived the nation of an opposition party, so indispensable to wholesome government under democratic institutions. It was this paralysis that permitted the horrors of the reconstruction period and the corruption of the Grant régime. Down to that time the leadership of the Democratic Party was in the South. No political party in any country was ever rep-



resented by abler statesmen or governed by a more consistently philosophic political doctrine. But the Civil War completely removed Southern statesmen from power and influence in political affairs. So far as the South was concerned, the Democracy was crushed into a helpless mass.

The leadership of the party was then transferred to the East, and a different type of men took the helm. Under Eastern leadership it ceased to be the party of political philosophy and democratic principles, and became the party of special interests. The Republican Party was definitely a party of protection and domestic industry. As if just to be different and in disregard of the interests of domestic industry, it became the party of importers, whose key-note was free trade. To be sure, in this it antagonized the Republican Party, but, at the same time, it antagonized the vital interests of the American people. Under this Eastern unphilosophic and essentially un-American policy it became more and more a party of antagonism to American prosperity and development. Although the South was deprived of all share in its leadership, it remained true to the party and furnished all the electoral votes it received. With this solid South, which always could be relied upon as a large nucleus, and the constant mistakes of the Republican Party, which unchecked power always brings, it finally succeeded in getting back to power. The personnel and policy of its administration were all eastern, and the adoption of its importers' policy brought disaster to domestic industry, and flooded the country with bankruptcy, enforced idleness, and unparalleled business hardship. Thus the Eastern leadership proved a complete failure, and the party was shattered into warring fragments.

The Democratic Party was then reorganized under Western leadership. Under Bryan, it was little more than a mob, representing all the economic heresies that four years



of national depression and business disaster had created. Socialism, populism, free silver, green-backs, government-ownership, and a general antagonism to existing economic and social institutions, each contributed its quota of recruits. It was verily a party of economic and social disruption.

Loyal to the party, the South remained as solid under this Western leadership as it had under the Eastern; but again there was complete failure. It passed through two campaigns under this leadership only to be emphatically rejected by the people. It had lost all the dignity of statesmanship and political philosophy, and had nothing of a rational, helpful character to take its place.

This year it once more passed under Eastern leadership, and its failure is greater than ever. As a party it is now more prostrate and impotent than at any time since the War. What will be the Democracy of tomorrow?

Mr Bryan, who has twice failed, has already announced his intention again to lead a reorganizing movement. His new program is only a more emphatic presentation of the worst features of his old one. It simply adds more of the socialistic, paternal element to the party program, which is essentially contrary to the political philosophy of the Democratic Party and to the traditional policy of the nation. There can be really no hope of raising up a strong, dignified, responsible party, representing consistent political doctrine under Bryan leadership, nor, for that matter, under any other Western leadership. Any effort in that direction simply means the further depleting of the powers and influences of the Democratic Party as a responsible national political organization. Experience has demonstrated that neither Western nor Eastern leadership has any claim to be entrusted with the affairs of the Democratic Party. This year neither the Bryan wing nor the Cleveland wing has given the party a single electoral vote. Every vote in the



electoral college that will be cast for Parker will come from the South.

Since both Eastern and Western leadership have failed so completely as to be unable to give the party a single electoral vote, it is manifest that the leadership in the next reorganization should pass to those who can. As the Pope said to Martel, "he who wields the power should wear the crown." The South, being the only portion of the Democratic Party that can give an electoral vote, is manifestly entitled to the leadership in the next reorganization. Certainly Southern leadership could not result in more complete failure than Western and Eastern leadership. Southern leadership can at least command a following large enough to furnish nearly two-thirds of the electoral votes necessary for success.

Moreover, the South is distinctly more American in its sentiment and more domestic in its industrial interests than is the Eastern wing of the party, which is largely dominated by importing interests and imitation of foreign methods. It is not unreasonable to assume, therefore, that under Southern leadership the Democratic Party would be more likely to represent the domestic interests of the country and stand for a more constructive political doctrine. Of course, it may be said that the South has solidly endorsed all the heresies of Bryanism and the disrupting policies of Clevelandism. While this is true, neither of these policies is chargeable to the South or to Southern leadership. The South was politically emasculated. It was forbidden to have any voice in the councils of the party. It accepted the position of the silent, acquiescent partner. It has simply followed the leadership of whichever section could control all the machinery, and it has done so without a murmur or a protest. It has stood by the party, and saw it wrecked, now by Eastern; and now by Western leadership; and it



has not even protested, but has gone solidly to the front and furnished nearly all the effective voting power.

The South can now, with propriety, assert, not only the right, but the political expediency, of its again resuming the leadership of the party. The question of slavery, by which the Democratic Party was crushed under Southern leadership, is gone never to return. Economically, there is a new South. The South is now under the régime of modern industry. There is good reason to believe that if the South assumed the leadership of the Democratic Party, its policy would more nearly reflect the interests of modern American industry than it has under the leadership of Bryan or of importing interests.

The South is making as rapid, if not more rapid, strides in the development of manufacturing and diversified industry than any other section of the country. These new industries are domestic. They are the source of the remarkably growing prosperity of the South. Like all the rest of the country, the South is interested in not having these industries defeated by foreign competition. On the contrary, its prosperity, welfare, and progress depend upon the growth and expansion of these diversified domestic industries. The South, therefore, has no interest in free trade, but it has a definite and growing interest in protection. Southern political opinion is rapidly growing along the lines of her industrial interests, which in the manufacturing portions, are developing a pronounced protectionist sentiment.

If the party leadership should pass to the South, there is good reason to believe that, on the tariff question, the attitude of the Democracy would be, if not pronounced protectionist, very much more rational and moderate. On the money question, the South can be trusted to be as sound as the North. The fiat money mania always appealed more



to the West than to the South. The soundest expressions on the tariff and general economic policy in the Democratic party in this campaign have come from the South.

By all the rights of numbers, prestige, and industrial interests the South is justified in claiming the recognized leadership in the reorganization of the Democratic Party. It has the habit and influence of the traditional Democratic philosophy, it has the spirit of patriotism, it has the diversified industries which identify its interests with the welfare of the nation, it has the men, and it has the votes. All this gives it a complete title to party leadership. This claim is doubly strengthened by the fact that Eastern and Western leadership has been voted an unqualified failure. This is an opportune time for the South, with dignity and moderation, to take the lead in the reorganization of the party of which it is has always been the physical and the intellectual bulwark.

If the South would firmly assert itself and assume effective leadership, put forth its best men, and present a rational, practical program consistent with the political philosophy of the party and the industrial interests of the section, which are also the interests of the nation, the Democratic Party might again become a strong and wholesome political power in the nation. Under Southern leadership, where the convictions and interests of the South were permitted to exercise a fair amount of influence in determining the policy, free trade would cease to be the dominating issue of the party. The South has no interest in it, the West has no interest in it, the manufacturing Eastern and Middle States have no interest in it. It is the interest of the professional and importing classes only, and should not, and under the best Southern leadership, probably would not, be permitted to dominate the policy of the party. If the South would gather up the wreckage and assume the leadership of the



party with a rational policy, that would be entirely consistent with its interests and the welfare of the country, protection would cease to be the main issue of political contention. The nation would cease to be afraid that the Democratic Party, if it came into power, would destroy prosperity. Under these conditions, there would be a more national and a more wholesome division of political opinion. The Democratic Party might soon become a strong opposition party and perhaps again return to power with the respect and confidence of the people. Under the free-trade leadership of the East and the populistic leadership of the West, the Democratic Party will be distrusted by the people as dangerous to the interests and welfare of the country.

What the Democracy of tomorrow will be, whether it will be a rational, constructive political party, devoted to the economic interests of the country, or whether it will further degenerate into a radical, disrupting organization, will depend largely on the type of leadership and industrial doctrine under which the wreckage of November eighth is reorganized.



## HEAVY SACRIFICE OF LIFE ON AMERICAN RAILWAYS: IS IT NECESSARY?

DAY ALLEN WILLEY

AN eminent foreign engineer made a tour of the United States a few years ago to study the construction and plan of operation of American railway systems. Before returning he was asked how American methods compared with those of Great Britain and the continent. The reply was: "It seems to me your people oftener answer the question 'Will it do' than 'Is it best.'"

Considering the long list of casualties on the railways which form such a dark chapter in the history of each year, the question naturally arises, Can we permit ten thousand people to be killed annually, and perhaps four times as many maimed for life? Is it necessary that such an appalling record of death and injury should be put down against American railways?

Accustomed as we are to reading accounts of head-on or tail-end collisions with their scores of victims, stories of suffering caused by trains going through bridges that "failed," or through some other mishap, we have possibly become too callous to feel the shock due to such horrors. It is becoming so frequent that unless the head-lines of the newspaper announce that the fatalities have reached a dozen or a score, we may pass the paragraph by as unimportant. To the European, however, the frequent announcement of disasters on our railways is received with surprise, because on their railways such terrible disasters occur so seldom. And the reports of recent years show little or no decrease



in the aggregate fatalities despite the progress we are supposed to be making in this field of industry. The victims of 1903 were nearly as numerous as those of any preceding year during the decade, and considerably exceeded in number the victims for some of the years—3554 killed and 45,977 injured in train accidents alone, besides persons killed or maimed while walking on the tracks. Details of the accidents show that the deadly collision has played its part oftener than during some of the past years and that despite the care taken in construction and maintenance of way, the broken rail, the misplaced switch and the defective bridge or trestle have also wrought injury and death.

We journey in comfort and even luxury; we cover great distances in a surprisingly short interval; the train carrying our merchandise may consist of cars holding fifty tons drawn by ponderous engines that will haul fifty of these cars without difficulty; in short, we have kept up with the rest of the world in every phase of land transportation with one exception—safety. And we have become so accustomed to the news of accidents claiming a dozen or a score of victims that they do not seem exceptional. The American who goes abroad, however, has this fact most forcibly impressed upon him—that far more safe-guards are provided for the traveler in Europe than in this country. Collisions in Great Britain are practically unknown, while on the Continent they are extremely rare. Bridges do not fail, and, while a switch at times may be misplaced, the number of such errors is insignificant when contrasted with the American record. The great loss of life that has resulted, especially within the last few months, in the United States in railway accidents has been in part due to the speed of the trains; but it may be needless to say that the express trains in Great Britain, for example, are operated on a schedule that is as fast as that on the principal systems of this country. Between London and Glasgow and Edinburgh, the distance of four hundred



miles is covered by some of the trains in the remarkable time of 420 minutes, an average rate of nearly sixty miles an hour. The London and Northwestern Railway carries first-class passengers between London and Liverpool, a distance of 195 miles, in four hours, so that the tourist homeward bound may eat his luncheon in the metropolis and his supper on the ship that carries him across the Atlantic. A comparison of the train service in general in Great Britain shows that it is on a par with that of the United States in point of speed. But when the question of safety enters into the discussion, it must be admitted that the English have the best of us. One may go from end to end of the country and not cross a railway at grade. With the era of modern transportation, the British public recognized the great danger of the grade-crossing and its representatives decided the tracks of one railway must be placed above or below the tracks of another. The latest report of the Interstate Commerce Commission shows that an army of fifty thousand men is employed merely to watch crossings in the United States where the tracks of the railway are on a level with the street, the rural highway, or the tracks of another line. For mile after mile the traveler in Great Britain passes along embankments that carry the train above all such arteries of traffic.

Another feature with which the traveler in Great Britain especially becomes familiar is what is technically known as the 'block-system.' Possibly he has journeyed over a railway in the United States where this is in operation, but in England the block-system is not only intended as a protection against collisions but is so designed that it actually protects. Unfortunately, in this country, it does not always afford safety. When the British government realized the necessity of eliminating the danger of grade-crossings, it also appreciated the importance of preventing trains colliding. Consequently every railway in the United Kingdom is



divided into sections separated by stations, each of which contains what might be called the block controller. When a train passes into a certain section, the controller gives warning to the engineman by means of signals and moves a lever operating what is called the interlocking apparatus. This mechanism separates the block containing the train from the rest of the line, making it physically impossible for any other train to enter upon it while occupied. Thus a double protection is afforded through the signal and the shifting apparatus, and the life of the passenger is not in the hands of the engineman alone.

Twenty-five thousand miles of American systems are divided into blocks or sections, but as yet only a small proportion of this mileage is equipped with interlocking apparatus, except at junction points, and at places where freight yards or other terminals have been established, necessitating the control of trains by this means. The plan in vogue in the United States, on railways employing the block-system, is to place at the end of each block signals that are usually operated from towers. When the train enters a block, the operator sets what is called the danger signal, warning the engineer of the train following to shut off steam as soon as he sees it and remain outside of the block until the signal announces that the section ahead is clear. It will be noted that upon the engineer entirely depends the safety of the train. If he has nothing else to do but look out of the cab window, the signal might be a sufficient safe-guard, but any one familiar with the duties of the locomotive engineer is aware of the fact that his attention may be diverted in a dozen different ways. On the modern passenger engine he has gages to watch, valves and levers to control. He is continually increasing or decreasing the rate of speed according to the character of the road-bed, and sometimes his hands are not idle for five minutes during the entire run. Any moment some joint may spring a leak that must have immediate



attention. He must closely observe the steam and air pressure, and quantity of water in the boiler. It is not strange that, in the attention to this or that duty, he should occasionally miss the signal, especially on a foggy day or a dark night.

In a recent collision on a Western road divided into blocks, a freight train crashed into the rear of a passenger train. The freight engineer had passed by the warning signal, but, as in many other instances, paid the penalty with his life although the passengers on the train in front were uninjured, the heavy Pullman coaches acting as a buffer in resisting the blow. The engineer admitted before his death that a valve in the cab had suddenly sprung a leak, and while trying to stop the flow of water with some waste, he had forgotten to look out for the red light. Was he entirely to blame?

The length of the block is also of much importance, especially where high speed is maintained, for it may be impossible to avert a collision if it is too short. With the most powerful brakes, it has been demonstrated that a train running on a level grade at the rate of ninety miles an hour, can not be brought to a full stop in less than 3000 feet—over half a mile—from the point where the brakes are applied. A train running at a velocity of fifty or sixty miles an hour, requires fully 2000 feet in which to ‘slow up.’ In making up time, a locomotive is frequently speeded on a level track, and unless the engineer can see the signal a certain distance from the train ahead, an accident will happen despite the utmost vigilance on his part.

Today, however, nearly 200,000 miles of track in this country are not protected even by the block-signal apparatus, although most of this mileage is embraced in the single-track roads, on which trains running in opposite directions, may pass each other only by means of sidings. Here, everything depends on the correct transmission of the despatcher’s



orders and their accurate interpretation by the train crews. Sent by telegraph or telephone to the station nearest the siding to be used, the orders are usually duplicated—one copy going to the engineer and another to the conductor. Thus, responsibility is placed on two persons at least in case of accident; but, despite this precaution, fully fifty per cent. of the collisions annually are caused by misunderstanding orders.

Reference has already been made to the various duties of the engineer, which frequently keep him from noting signals for his guidance. It is also a fact that he may be kept on his locomotive for fifteen hours at a time, and within the last year an investigation as to the cause of an accident showed that the engineer had actually been on duty for twenty-five hours on account of heavy traffic on the line. This accounts for instances where not only the engineers but firemen have been found sound asleep in the cabs—so exhausted that they were unable to give attention to their duties. They are also obliged to depend entirely upon one faculty—their vision—to avoid disasters. Only by means of the eye are they able to receive warning unless by the old fashioned method of exploding torpedoes on the track. This is occasionally done on some of the smaller lines where it is desired to notify crews of freight trains that another train has stopped ahead. While decidedly crude, it is a question if it is not as practical as some of the other signal systems.

There have been years in the history of Great Britain where not one passenger was killed on a railway. During the fifteen months ending March 31, 1902, the official records of the United Kingdom show that not one fatal accident occurred. Yet the service includes trains that equal in speed the 'limited' and other express trains of the United States. All are controlled by the block-system, and the engine men are obliged to check their speed whenever notified. The solidity of the road-beds and viaducts however



enables them to maintain a maximum rate of speed where the line is unobstructed. In the United States the engineer may be obliged to slow up every few miles for curves, bridges, or culverts. True, we lead the world in the construction of metal bridges that support enormous weights, considering the quantity of metal used, and despite their slender appearance; but, if they are not crossed very slowly, the average train causes such vibration that there is continual danger of collapse. Consequently, much time is lost in delays, especially where a run of two hundred miles may include 20 or 30 viaducts of different kinds. The care of a steel structure is also of the greatest importance, when it is remembered that some of the single ones in this country require over a hundred thousand bolts and rivets to hold them together. There is the continual danger of parts becoming loosened or of the metal being weakened by exposure to the weather, and, should the bridge be neglected for any reason, it may fail at a time when least expected and another disaster be added to the list. It may be stated here that the tendency in modern railway construction in the United States is to utilize more viaducts of masonry or concrete as the construction fund will permit, for although much more extensive than steel work, they are far more durable, requiring less repair from year to year.

Ask the men who have built the highways of steel from end to end of the country, why they have not provided more safe-guards for the trainman and the traveler, and for answer they may point to the map. It is not because of indifference to public welfare or ignorance of the methods for protecting life and limb, but because their task has been one of such magnitude that they have too often perhaps considered the question "Will it do," rather than "Is it best." Where Great Britain has one mile of rails we have eleven miles. The English systems are estimated by hundreds of miles; ours embrace thousands and in some cases



reach above the ten-thousand limit. The building of new mileage in Europe is confined to a few short lines here and there. Every year adds thousands of miles to American railways. And often the track-layer races against time. It is a case of how soon he can reach the goal, especially if a rival company is heading for the same destination. When the rails are down and the ballast is leveled the query of the general manager is in what time can the route be covered, for the fastest train schedule usually means more business.

The argument has been more than once advanced that the railroad-builder has moved so rapidly and has had so much to do that he has not been able to complete his work from the point of view of safety; but the item of expense is another important consideration. It is not necessary to cross the ocean to get interlocking switches and electric and pneumatic warning signals that are equal if not superior to the best foreign equipment; but when the railway manager tells the directors that a single safety-crossing may cost \$900 as some of them do, the outlay for the entire system may cause them to hesitate. Is it not best to wait a while and take the chances, at least until there is a bigger balance on the surplus side of the books? And it is not always the company with the watered stock and the top-heavy bond issue on which interest must be earned, that decides to take the chances.

When the public recognizes that mechanism is available that will avoid other causes of our numerous disasters on the rail, its representatives in the various States will be compelled to enact laws enforcing the general use of such appliances; and the next few years may see as great a change in the control of train service as was produced by the introduction of the modern brake and coupler.



## GOVERNMENT OF MUNICIPALITIES BY BOARDS OF COMMISSIONERS

C. ARTHUR WILLIAMS

EVEN before graft and corruption came to be notorious and, apparently, ineradicable concomitants of municipal government in the United States, reformers were given to declaring that ideal governmental conditions in our cities could be brought about only through the full and free exercise of the citizen's right of suffrage, untrammelled by political bosses and unmenaced by political rings. This idea naturally appeals with peculiar force to those who live in a republic and give to the republican form of government all the respect and veneration that is due it. It is in line with the belief that has prevailed ever since the framing of our constitution, that this should be a government of, for, and by the people, not only in the broadest sense, with reference to the Federal powers, but as applied to States, counties, cities, and so on down the line. Yet it is an interesting and significant fact that in what is admittedly the best governed municipality in this country the people have no voice in the selection of their officials and little or none, directly, in the general administration of public affairs. They may petition and suggest, but that is all. They could hardly be more helpless under an extreme form of autocracy; but the benefits which come to them from their system of government are so many and so material that all of them tolerate it and most of them admire and defend it.

The city in question is Washington, the nation's capital. The conditions there could exist in no other municipality, perhaps, since in no other case could responsibility be divided



between the Federal and local governments, or the people be absolutely deprived of all those rights and privileges that are supposed to be indissoluble parts of our republican system. In no other place, except in very unusual circumstances, would the citizens be likely to submit to disfranchisement without a show of opposition and probably a revolution. But, eliminating the matter of suffrage, it is apparent that other cities might with great profit adopt many of the salient features of the plan that has proved so satisfactory in the District of Columbia. If any proof of this assertion is needed it may be found in the record of Galveston, Texas. The board of commissioners which, next to the President and Congress, is supreme in the District, forms the most important and the unique part of the plan referred to; and during most of the time that has elapsed since the great storm of September, 1900, Galveston's affairs have been administered by a commission.

It is decidedly interesting to note, in view of the general attitude of the public, that the people of Galveston were not only willing to forego the right of electing their officials, but that their representatives actually went before the State legislature and requested the privilege of relinquishing this right as a favor to themselves and as part of a scheme which had for its purpose the restoration of the city and the conservation of the public welfare. This was one case where unusual circumstances caused a wide deviation from established practise. The appalling conditions which followed the great storm, the many perplexing problems which the loss of thousands of lives and the destruction of millions of dollars' worth of property brought up, made it plain that a form of government which involved a regulation municipal election and the control of the city by a mayor and board of aldermen would not be adequate. The result was that the citizens agreed on a plan the main feature of which was the creation of a board of commissioners to take charge of



the municipality and bring about its rehabilitation. The original scheme contemplated the appointment of the whole board by the governor of the State, but complications arose when the matter was presented to the State legislature. That body viewed with considerable repugnance the idea of taking away from a community, even with its consent, the right to elect the persons to be entrusted with the reins of government. Consequently a compromise bill was passed providing for a commission of five men, three to be appointed by the governor and two to be elected. Subsequently a majority of the court of criminal appeals of the State—the tribunal of last resort so far as criminal cases are concerned—declared that the new form of government was unconstitutional and that in order to be made consonant with the basic law the city charter must be changed and all the commissioners elected. Within thirty days thereafter the supreme court of the State handed down a unanimous opinion in a civil case, diametrically opposed to that of the divided court of criminal appeals. Neither of the two cases thus passed on involved any Federal question that would permit its being taken up to the supreme court of the United States, and as the two State courts are of equal and final jurisdiction the constitutionality of the appointive franchise under which the city first operated is still a matter of conjecture and divided opinion; but, under the assumption that the majority of the court of criminal appeals would maintain its original attitude, and that Galveston's police powers would thus be nullified, through cases appealed from the lower criminal courts, the charter was immediately amended through legislative warrant and now the whole board is elected. All of the commissioners, who are of that class which does not usually care to 'soil its hands' with municipal politics, stood for re-election at the expiration of their first term, and all were re-elected by overwhelming majorities. Moreover, not one of them spent a single dollar to get back into office.



The advantages of the commission form of government, as exemplified at Washington and Galveston, are so numerous that one finds it difficult to decide where to begin in enumerating them. It is doubtless safe to assert, however, that the greatest benefits come from the absence of those irritating and harmful features that are so closely associated with the average struggle between parties or factions for the control of municipal offices, when the real interests of the people are often lost sight of completely, and from the fact that graft is either improbable or wholly impossible. Of course conditions in both Washington and Galveston are unusual, in that in the former the citizens can not vote and in the latter, on account of the necessity of recovering from the disaster of four years ago, they are disposed to select the best men regardless of party affiliations or factional alignments; but, notwithstanding this, it is by no means beyond the pale of the possible that the commission plan could be utilized all over the United States—the right of the people to elect being understood—in such a way as to improve the present status of municipal affairs and render much less dangerous the tendency toward wholesale corruption and bribery and the wanton squandering of public funds which is so menacing in many of the large cities and, to some degree, in practically every city.

The commissioners of the District of Columbia and those of Galveston are not influenced by local politics. They consider the good of the whole people and act accordingly. The Washington board, for instance, recently sent to Baltimore for an expert to act as superintendent of one of the capital's eleemosynary institutions, having been unable to find a Washingtonian with sufficient experience and ability. The mayor who would thus go outside his own city to distribute patronage, or out of his own party or faction, for that matter, would be in grave danger of defeat when he next asked for office. There was some complaint in Washington,



naturally; but a large majority of the people accepted the view that the commissioners had only the best interests of the community at heart, and were accordingly satisfied.

In Galveston, after the storm, it was necessary to collect the largest possible amount of taxes. Before the disaster the town, like every other one in the land, had many property owners who were either dilatory and remiss or did not pay at all. These could be roughly divided into three classes: (1) Those who were not financially able to pay; (2) Those who could pay but would not, because they believed the city's revenues were not being honestly and properly applied, and (3) Those who could pay but would not because they possessed sufficient political prestige and influence to prevent their being sued as the law provides, and made to pay both the original levy and the penalties incident to delinquency.

Everybody has been made to understand that the city's funds are being expended economically and for good purposes since the commission form of government commenced, and it has been demonstrated that there is no favoritism and that if payments are not made promptly when due the full measure of the law will be invoked. Those who were so seriously damaged by the storm as to make impossible the meeting of their obligations have been treated leniently, but the wealthy men who avoid the payment of taxes or secure unduly low assessments because they have a "pull" are as scarce in Galveston as honest officials seem to be in some other cities.

Practically the same conditions exist in the District of Columbia, where, as a result of the absence of the usual local influences, a very large percentage of taxes due is promptly collected and the rigid law against delinquents is enforced without discrimination. The amount assessed against the real estate of the District in 1903 was about \$3,500,000 and of this only \$7000 was outstanding when the books were closed for the year. Incidentally, it might be mentioned that



the tax rate is only \$1.50 per \$100, on a two-thirds valuation. Assessors are appointed for life or during good behavior and are therefore as invulnerable to wrongful local pressure as their superiors, the commissioners. On many occasions senators, representatives and other prominent and influential persons have appealed in vain from decisions of the assessors in cases where it was obvious that the assessments were equitable and fair.

The amount of taxes assessed and collected is not large for a city of 300,000 inhabitants, but it must be remembered that for every dollar collected in the District the Federal government pays in a dollar; by reason of the fact that it owns all the streets, parks, etc., as well as a large number of buildings. Every time the government acquires a piece of real estate and erects a new building the revenues of the District from its taxpayers are decreased by just so much as was paid by the former owners of the property. This being understood, it is not difficult to see that the District is not especially favored by the half-and-half arrangement, which was put in force through a law arbitrarily passed by congress.

Despite all Galveston's vicissitudes, its tax rate is only \$1.45. This embraces 20 cents on each \$100 valuation for school purposes, but does not include a special tax of 40 cents, which is specifically set aside on account of bonds specially issued to pay the expenses of the work of raising the city's grade as a protection against possible future storms. For general purposes, therefore, the tax rate is only \$1.25. Government census figures show that the cities of Omaha and Des Moines are now afflicted with levies of \$4.95 and \$5.88, respectively, while the average rate of 100 leading cities is \$2.10. The average rate in 23 cities of about the size of Washington and Galveston, selected entirely at random, is a fraction over \$2.35. These are: Cleveland, \$3.05; Pittsburg, \$3.65; New Orleans, \$2.90; Kansas



City, \$1.88; Akron, \$2.36; Atlanta, \$2.30; Covington, \$2.75; Dallas, \$2.45; Houston, \$2.93; San Antonio, \$2.66; Duluth, \$2.99; Montgomery, \$2.37; Spokane, \$3.40; San Francisco, \$1.60; Cincinnati, \$2.30; Detroit, \$2.15; Milwaukee, \$1.59; Newark, \$2.22; Buffalo, \$1.78; Springfield, Mass., \$1.45; Brockton, \$1.99; Albany, \$1.89; Louisville, \$2.31. New York's rate is \$1.46. Special taxes are included in some of these totals, but in most cases they are inconsiderable. Des Moines has a special levy of \$1.53 per \$100, but Omaha, whose total rate is the second highest, has none. Its general city tax, however, is \$3.00 per \$100 valuation. The rates in many of these places could doubtless be reduced by wise, honest and economical administration, and the low figures in Washington and Galveston make entirely logical and reasonable the assumption that the commission form of government is a desideratum of great importance in this connection.

But a low tax rate is not the only benefit that has accrued to Galveston as a result of the able handling of its affairs by its commission. When the board went into office a year after the storm the floating debt of the city was a little more than \$156,000. On April 30, 1904, two and one-half years later, the total floating debt was but \$50,000 and vouchers amounting to \$23,000 were then audited ready for payment during the first week in May; so that the board of commissioners, during the time it had been in office, had retired approximately \$125,000 of the debt and had paid, in addition, interest amounting to about \$6000 and some \$10,000 on claims and judgments. These sums, it should be understood, were expended out of the revenues from taxes, etc. Not a dollar's worth of regular bonds has been issued. Street improvements costing approximately \$100,000 have been made since the storm, \$15,000 has been spent on the fire department and an additional \$5000 or \$6000 in repairing municipal buildings. The city owns its waterworks plant and it is



now not only self sustaining but the source of nearly \$60,000 annual profit.

The commission form of government in the District of Columbia, even with its attendant disadvantage of total disfranchisement, has been the salvation of the capital and the 70 square miles of territory which, with it, form what has been called "the little kingdom of the President." Many changes occurred before the present system was finally adopted in 1874. In the early days the President appointed a mayor and the people were represented by an elective council. Later the office of mayor was also made elective, suffrage being restricted to white males. In 1867 Negroes were given the right to vote. In 1871 a territorial form of government was established, the executive officials being appointed by the President and the District legislature and a delegate to Congress elected by the people. One governor was A. R. Shepard, who recently died in Mexico. During the three years he was in office he effected a metamorphosis that made the capital a city instead of a straggling, muddy village, and furnished the foundation for work that has since caused Washington to be recognized as the standard of municipal beauty in the United States.

But it was a costly operation. Some \$50,000,000 was expended during the governor's administration and half of that sum was left as a debt for future generations to pay. The District narrowly escaped bankruptcy and there was a feeling of decided unrest and dissatisfaction. Then Congress took away the right of suffrage and placed the inhabitants of the District under an autocratic form of government, binding the Federal government, however, to pay one half the expenses under the new system. That was in 1874, and two years later the arrangement was made permanent. It still prevails.

The three commissioners are appointed by the President and each receives a salary of \$5,000 a year. One must



always be an engineer officer of the army and the other two civilians. In the early days, non-residents were usually appointed, but more recently men who live in the District and are familiar with its conditions have been chosen. The term of office is three years, but in most cases reappointments are made as long as the usefulness of the incumbents lasts. A commissioner preceding one of those now serving was in office fourteen years and died there. The records show that all the Presidents have been singularly fortunate in their selections. Never has a commissioner betrayed the trust reposed in him or acted in such a way as to bring his honesty into question.

When Congress established the commission form of government it gave to the commissioners, in a clause conferring what are known as police powers, authority over all matters having to do with the safety of life and property, the preservation of health and order and other things of that nature. This clause has been decided by the supreme court to be as broad and comprehensive as the general welfare clause of the Federal constitution, and the powers of the commissioners have been upheld in every way. The only limitation on their authority lies in that portion of the statutes which says that their legislation must be reasonable. They have the same right to make local laws as is usually vested in a common council, but few mayors and boards of aldermen would have the courage to put into effect some of the wise regulations they enforce.

Broader legislation, such as concerns taxation, the granting of franchises, etc., must come from Congress. The commissioners are consulted concerning all matters of this kind, however, and their recommendations are almost invariably followed. Appropriations for the District are made by Congress from budgets prepared by the commissioners. After the money is appropriated, its expenditure is so safeguarded as to make its misapplication practically impossible.



All accounts are audited in the United States treasury as well as by the District auditor. Even if officials of the District wished to misuse the funds they handle they would find it difficult to do so without the collusion of so many persons, in and out of the service, as to make detection and forced restitution almost certain. Defective details of the system have made a few cases of official malfeasance possible, but remedies have been applied and now no city could be safer from graft than Washington.

There is no appeal from the action of the commissioners, except to the courts. After a commissioner is appointed and confirmed he may only be removed for cause by the President, and such a removal has never been in evidence. The board is therefore not under the necessity of pandering to this local element or that in order to insure continuance in office. It is noteworthy, however, that public sentiment is invariably tested before any important action is taken. The commissioners keep in close touch with the people and try to meet their wishes as fully as is compatible with the good of the whole community. Hearings are granted whenever requested and in this way the citizens are enabled to exert a considerable amount of influence.

The various departments of the city government are divided among the commissioners. Broadly speaking, the action of one member with reference to matters under his immediate jurisdiction is almost always concurred in by the other two as a matter of course. When questions affecting public policy arise, however, the whole board meets and goes over the case in detail, and, if necessary or advisable, orders a public hearing. In the event of such a hearing the commissioners sit as judges, listen to testimony and act accordingly.

The District has a complete judicial system, all the judges of which, even down to those in the police courts, are appointed by the President. The commissioners have charge of all charitable work, operating through a board of chari-



ties. The schools are managed by a board of education which acts under the supervision of the commissioners. The police system is admirable. The pay of the men is regulated by Congress, and pensions are allowed to those disabled in the discharge of duty and to all who, after 15 years' service, are declared by a retiring board to be unfit for active work.

In no other city in the United States have policemen less incentive for shirking their duty or discriminating in favor of persons with political "pulls." They are responsible only to their officers and the commissioners and they know they will be discharged only for cause, after a full investigation. A discharged man is never reinstated. As a result of this, there is little or no grafting among them. The inspectors are keen and the people with whom the police come in contact do not hesitate to complain promptly if any wrongdoing is attempted, for they know they will be listened to and protected. Gambling and liquor laws are strict and are rigidly enforced, no matter who the offenders may be. There is no open and very little secret gambling in the District.

Not one condition, therefore, but many, attest the fact that Washington is the best governed city in the country and that the commission feature is eminently satisfactory. The people may not select their officials, but election day, with all its attendant evils, has no terrors for them. If the question of enfranchizing the residents of the District were to be put to a vote today it is extremely doubtful if a majority of the representative citizens would favor it. Despite the fact that the present system forms a "living protest against republicanism," as an English diplomat once expressed it, the people would hesitate to make a change. The immunity from corruption and political disturbances of all kinds has helped to make the city attractive to large numbers of wealthy persons, who have settled here, knowing that their property will be equitably assessed and that, with the poorest of their neighbors, they will receive just treatment



whether they have any political influence or not. Everybody is satisfied that taxes paid into the District treasury will be honestly handled and that expenditures will be governed by economy and wisdom. The ward boss is conspicuous by his absence. The grafting politician is a thing unknown. Government without suffrage—satisfactory government—long ago ceased to be an experiment. Even though the people of the District are eventually given the privilege of voting for presidential electors there are apparently the very best of reasons for the belief that the commission form of government will be continued and that conditions so far as they affect the administration of local affairs will remain unchanged.

The commission form of government *per se* is not a panacea for municipal ills; but if properly provided for, the plan, as applied at Washington and Galveston—due allowance being made for the unusual conditions in both places—will have a tendency to reduce to a minimum the troubles that beset the average city. Of course the commissioners must be men of integrity and ability, who have the confidence of their communities and will not abuse it; in short, men who have the welfare of their city at heart, rather than their own selfish and petty political interests, and who will handle public affairs with the same fidelity to business principles that they would manifest in the conduct of a railroad or a bank. Boards of three or five commissioners can accomplish things more easily than a cumbersome board of aldermen, and, if the proper care be exercised in their selection, they can undoubtedly improve the present standard of municipal government in the United States. That this belief is becoming more or less general, is demonstrated by the fact that movements in favor of municipal commissions have been set on foot in many places where the truth about Washington and Galveston is known.



## MISREPRESENTATION OF THE SHIPPING CRISIS

WILLIAM W. BATES

TRUE statesmanship and sound economy agree with history and philosophy, that a maritime nation should develop and possess shipping and commercial power, if it would act well its part in the world's affairs. National security and independence, prosperity and progress, depend not upon foreign, but native industry and skill. Making an application of this principle, the United States must build its own shipping, do its own navigation, and conduct its own commerce. Independence on the land is not enough, but its ability on the ocean must correspond to its power on its soil. It must acknowledge no mistress of the seas. To occupy this position our nation must have a policy that will effect the results desired. That we are not now under such a policy and have not been for many years needs no proof—the fact is self-evident. Had we been under the proper policy, we would have retained our foreign carrying trade; and American merchants, in place of foreign, would now be carrying on our commerce with native shipping instead of alien.

The wiser of our people and the more patriotic think that our shipping policy should be reformed. When they examine history they find that in the beginning of our Government we had a policy favorable to our navigation; that under it our marine prospered and attained development and strength, to the great benefit of the nation at large. They discover also that this fostering policy was changed for the present abortive one. Logically, we should return



to the original policy, whatever its character. It is known, however, that it was protective, as it is undeniable that the present policy is free trade. That a policy is protective or unprotective is no reason for its acceptance or rejection, but its operation, good or bad, should settle the question of its retention. That the original policy was good, that the present is bad, is proved by results. One would think every citizen looking into the subject would coincide in opinion, that the present policy must go. Not so, however. The present policy is right into the hand of our rivals, particularly of the British hand, in the grasp of which our commerce and navigation is now held, and held as the inevitable result of our suicidal policy. Strange as it may seem, we have among us champions of any policy or measure that favors foreigners. This has been so ever since we had a country, just as evil has been in the world since it was made. This fact should not discourage the prudent, but embolden the patriotic.

Against a judicious change of our shipping policy not only will be mustered the backward and timid of our own people, but the intelligent and bold among our rivals and their interested agents and advocates dwelling among us. Already these are active with tongue and pen seeking to mislead the public, and to prevent the spread of correct information. Every circumstance pointing to reform will be distorted or denied—every occasion seized to misinterpret or misrepresent historic facts. We have an illustration in mind. At its last session Congress, feeling that ere long it would have to change our shipping policy, appointed a commission to take testimony, study the question and report a proper measure at the coming session. This work is now going on. On opening a hearing it is usual for the chairman to state the business of the commission. A New York organ of the foreign shipping interest heads an editorial



thus: A Persistent Subsidy Misrepresentation, and calls the chairman to account in a strain that might lame his back. "At the hearing before the Merchant Marine Commission at Detroit Senator Gallinger said that there were three points that had to be reckoned with as disadvantages in comparing American shipping with that of other nations, 'the additional cost of construction here, the additional cost of operation here, and the fact that other nations subsidize their shipping.' The last 'point' involves one of the most persistent misrepresentations in which the subsidy advocates indulge. It is not to be denied that to some extent 'other nations' grant subsidies, but with the foremost of these it is for special reasons in no way connected with the general encouragement or support of their merchant shipping. The two leading countries in ocean commerce and the two most frequently cited do the least of it, and their position in the carrying trade in no way depends upon it."

Now, what was the extent of Senator Gallinger's offense? Simply, that he used the word 'subsidize' instead of 'protect,' for it were in vain to deny that every shipping nation of consequence, but our own (and we are of no consequence at sea) protects its marine, in some way, to whatever extent necessary. Subsidy is but one of a number of different ways too numerous for Senator Gallinger to recite, so his ready speech lumped these in the comprehensive word 'subsidize'—to 'aid' and protect. It is a trifle to make a fuss about. This is not to deny that there are some backward students of the shipping question who have got over no farther in the book than the chapter on subsidy, and have come to think that they know ship protection thoroughly. Senator Gallinger is a long way past that chapter and is studying, not bills, but policies. It will not surprise the discerning to learn that he knows already that, in the presence of just and wise regulations of our commerce, the idle



argument of cheap ships, cheap sailors, and starvation freights cuts no figure at all. Under our original protective policy, as now under the regulation reserving our domestic trade, we heard, as we hear, nothing about the necessity for cheap ships and sailors. These items attach only to our present unprotective policy. It would not take a statesman five minutes to relegate them to the rubbish pile. The best vessels in the world, and really the cheapest; the best-paid mariners, and in fact those of highest character; are found in our domestic trade. Cheapness is a theoretic bugbear. Under a proper policy we will cease to entertain it. It is invented, cherished, and worked for more than it is worth by our rivals and their agents in order to discourage patriotic efforts to regain our place at sea.

The charge of 'misrepresentation' comes without grace from a foreign organ in New York. We quote further from the editorial mentioned: "Cost of construction here and cost of operation here undoubtedly have much to do with the inferior position of American shipping under the antiquated restrictions and disabilities imposed by our laws, but the alleged 'fact that other nations subsidize their shipping' is not one of the 'points' that have to be reckoned with as disadvantages." What is referred to is no doubt the registry law that requires American vessels to be American-built. This law is protective of ship-building. Repeal it and American ship-building will soon languish and our ship-yards become extinct. That would please the British and their New York organ, but this pleasure will never materialize. Of course our law of May, 1828, can not be in the editor's mind—that suspended our 'antiquated' protection to navigation, and for more than half a century has constituted one of the best protections of the British marine. The organ does not want it repealed. The British met this law by their shipping act of 1849. Since then they have been permitted to import in their vessels the merchandise of



other countries as well as their own—their merchants all over the world buying and sending to our market every article that would constitute freight and find a sale. They soon ran out of business our merchants and our ships. Our stupid policy was right into their hand. Examine our import statistics and note the effect this new competition had upon our proportionate carriage in our own commerce. We insert a table:

AMERICAN CARRIAGE OF IMPORTS

Years.	Per cent.	Years.	Per cent.
1848 .....	82.9	1855 } Crimean War {	77.3
1849 .....	81.4	1856 }	78.1
1850 .....	77.8	1857 .....	71.8
1851 .....	75.6	1858 .....	72.0
1852 .....	74.5	1859 .....	63.7
1853 .....	71.5	1860 .....	63.0
1854 .....	71.4	1861 .....	60.0

The Crimean War by increasing insurance and furnishing a new employment to British shipping checked for a time our losses in carriage, but after the war was over they rapidly occurred again. The British and their American organs should be thankful for some of our "antiquated" "disabilities." The act of 1828 permits their vessels to import here from countries not their own 65.57 per cent. of all goods thus brought. And 54 per cent. of all our imports are thus imported under the liberality of this old statute. It was made and is continued for them. It is our capital "disability," but not a free-trade advocate would consent to its removal to save the country from perdition. To repeal this act and enact that foreign vessels import here from their own countries only would almost alone restore our carrying trade—it would put our ships in possession of half that belongs to us to say the least. Finally, says the organ:



"How far special compensation for mail service or subventions for securing vessels that may prove of use as auxiliary cruisers in case of need may be justified is an entirely different question from that of direct government aid in supporting a mercantile marine engaged in the private business of transportation in the foreign trade. In the latter economy and efficiency must win, and the way should be made free for competition on equal terms."

The condition is purely British in inception and it is advanced because no nation on earth could ever compass its fulfilment, or, if it could, the British would not stick to it over night. After getting us to agree to non-protection in the carrying trade, they instituted several policies and some devious "ways" to circumvent the "equal terms" laid down. The writer has elsewhere and often exposed this conduct of our great rival. Mail subsidy and Admiralty subvention are only two of the tricks played upon us. A score might be named; at the head would stand Lloyd's deadly discriminative ship inspection policy, and its unjust and killing discriminative insurance policy. Following these are Board of Trade regulations, the combinations, rings, and trusts to corner freights for British ships, etc., etc. "Equal terms"—such as the white man offered the Indian in dividing the spoil of the hunt! No; Uncle Sam will take the turkey this time. John Bull "may like it or lump it;" and we will have no more partnership in navigation on any terms whatever. Our confidence has been too much abused.



## MRS MAYBRICK'S BOOK

THE Maybrick case is a scandal on English jurisprudence. Practically all persons, except those in official circles, both in England and in this country, have believed Mrs Maybrick innocent. Her conviction and sentence were the judgment of English prejudice, not of English law. Lord Chief-justice Russell emphatically declared that she was not guilty of the crime for which she served fifteen years in prison.

It would be a fitting testimonial of American sentiment, as well as a protest against the miscarriage of English justice, if the American people would buy half a million copies of her book before January, 1905.

We gladly call to the attention of our readers the following appeal in her behalf:

Mrs Maybrick's Own Story Story; Her Fifteen Years of English Prison Life, will be issued in December by the Funk and Wagnalls Company of London and New York. Ever since her arrival in America she has been the guest of my family. This I say only to justify my personal signature to this appeal. The book has been written wholly by Mrs Maybrick, except the legal digest and other matter in the appendix. Mrs Maybrick was sentenced to be hanged by a judge who, not long after the trial, under the advice of his physicians resigned his judgeship because of a mental disease. (See Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. LIV, p. 166.) Three days before the appointed day for execution, the sentence was commuted to imprisonment for life. Through the bias of a mentally unsound judge this American woman was kept for all these years in an English prison in spite of the urgent remonstrances of such eminent Americans, as Secretaries Blaine and Hay, and in the face of earnest representations by Presidents Harrison, Cleveland, and McKinley. The legal digest of the trial to be presented in the book, as a supplement to her story, will, I am sure, be conclusive evidence to all unprejudiced minds of Mrs Maybrick's innocence, legal as well as moral. The digest is made up very largely from the voluminous proofs and pleas



in her behalf by Lord Russell, late Lord Chief-justice of England. There could be scarcely a greater miscarriage of justice than there was in this case.

In her book, Mrs Maybrick has brought herself, at the urgency of her friends, to tell her story in full. She tells it now here for the first time, asking for a vindication in the minds and hearts of her countrymen. It is dignified and womanly throughout, and without a trace of bitterness. Indeed, it reveals a beautiful altruistic spirit in its final pleas for the establishment of a British Court of Appeals and certain greatly needed reforms in the conduct of prisons for women. Though free herself at last she can not forget the pitiable plight of those who may hereafter be the victims of a terrible mistake similar to that for which she suffered.

There is a side of this sad narrative that should speak with special force to the American and English sense of justice and fair play. Mrs Maybrick has been bereft of her children, who were taken away from her by the relatives of her husband, and now finds herself bereft of all her property. She asks only that the public will listen to her story and grant her the justice of a thorough vindication. There is more that she does not ask but which I and other personal friends of hers ask the public to remember: If several hundred thousand American men and women will buy this book as they did a greater but none the less heroic work, the Autobiography of General Grant, Mrs Maybrick will thereby receive a life-long competency. It may not be amiss for me here to say that her financial interest in the book is exceptionally large, covering a large share of the entire profits which the book may reasonably be expected to yield. Copies of it may now be ordered in advance of publication through any bookseller, or direct from the publishers, Funk and Wagnalls Company, 44-60, East Twenty-third Street, New York, or 44, Fleet Street, London, England. The book will be illustrated and neatly bound in cloth. The price will be \$1.20 a copy, net. The large purchase by the American public would be a memorable Christmas present to this bereaved woman. Will not every reader of this Appeal join in this Christmas present?

EMMET DENSMORE, M. D.

Brooklyn, Nov. 2, 1904.



## WAR CORRESPONDENTS: THEIR FUTURE

BY ONE OF THEM

IF WAR correspondents have ever been anything more than picturesque and costly luxuries to the papers and magazines that have employed them, they are certainly nothing more since their dismal failure in the last two or three wars. Since the Boer War, indeed, they have ceased to be even picturesque. Their services in the Spanish-American, Greco-Turkish, the Boer, and the Russo-Japanese wars have been either worthless or have actually prevented a correct understanding of the operations in the field. They have always been a source of care and an actual impediment and nuisance to armies in the field, but have generally been tolerated because of the great influence of the press and the desire of the people at home to read something, truth or fiction, about their soldiers in the field. It is astonishing, however, that military leaders, upon whom the correspondents are foisted, should so long have tolerated the presence of men who have been the principle source of error, misrepresentation, and prejudice concerning the conduct of the very armies that have shielded them.

The object that a periodical has in view in sending correspondents with an army in the field is, or should be, to furnish its readers with the impartial report of a trained observer of the actual marching and fighting in the campaign—in other words, to give day by day an accurate and interesting account of the field operations. If this work could be done justly and adequately, the war correspondents would be a boon to those who stay at home and to the future historians of war. Both the reader of today and the historian



of tomorrow could thus obtain a picture of actual warfare as it is, with all its attendant horrors, with its burnings and lootings, its plunderings and murderings, as well as its heroic exploits. Such a record would be of inestimable value—the correspondent's pen reporting these occurrences as truthfully as the phonograph reports the human voice.

But it is impossible for the correspondent to do the work expected of him. He can not only not do as much as is expected of him, but he can not do it in the way he ought to do it, and in the only way it would be worth while doing at all. At best, he is one man in one place, sees but one arc of a great uncomprehended circle of events. A battle may be won and lost thirty miles from where the correspondent stands. He may devote pages to describing the charge of a sotnia of Cossacks, while divisions and corps, unknown to him, unknown even to the general in command of the opposing forces, are making a brilliant flanking movement, and winning a great victory at which all the world will wonder for centuries. The correspondent knows nothing of this, but studiously devotes himself to the picturesqueness of his little band of Cossacks. The result is that we get a description, not of the battle, but of a charge of a handful of men resulting in nothing. The utmost we could expect is a description of the battle as seen from the position of one of the commanders in the field, while the panorama of the entire conflict—the thing that we actually wish—is utterly lost.

If one should take the labor of comparing the account of any recent campaign, by the most accurate and accomplished war correspondent in the field, with the story of that campaign, as it is afterward compiled from reports of the commanders engaged and by the actual results of the fighting, it would seem to him that he was reading accounts of entirely different operations. The most accomplished of recent war correspondents, Mr G. W. Stevens, wrote very inter-



esting and vivid accounts of the British operations in the Sudan. These accounts were afterward republished, with, I believe, some corrections and readjustments. And yet, although they were accepted at the time as accurate reports of the fighting, which was on a concentrated scale, the actual story of the war, as it is now known, is very different from the correspondent's account. Indeed, even in his best moments, Stevens failed entirely to give to the reader—because the thing was impossible—any just conception of the extent, the effect, or the importance of the battle.

In the Boer War, the reports of the first engagements made by British correspondents were such as to create the impression that the Boers were insignificant, cowardly, poor shots, wholly ignorant of warfare, and mere sport and spoil for the gallant invaders. A charge of the British Lancers was described as mere 'pig-sticking,' so scornful was the British view of the men who were even then proving themselves the finest soldiers that the world had seen since Caesar's Legion or Napoleon's Old Guard. We now know that in every battle in which the English faced the Boers in anything like equal forces they were outgeneraled and disastrously routed.

The same thing, or worse, occurred in our opera bouffe war with Spain. General Shafter's army was accompanied by a smaller army of war correspondents. They were, of course, eager for 'news.' The newspapers of the country had spent thousands of dollars in hiring special boats and in equipping war correspondents and photographers to picture to an over-excited public the glories of the American invasion of Cuba. It is not too much to say that every detail of the war, from the first landing to the surrender of Santiago, was distorted and even, it must be confessed, deliberately misrepresented in the interest of picturesqueness or of popular prejudice. The first action, at Las Guásimas, where the Rough Riders walked into an ambush, was



hastily reported as a disaster to the American arms, whereas it was only a blunder and a not very interesting one at that. The Americans were not routed, although they were checked, and yet, according to the hasty reports poured into the press, there had been a great slaughter, almost a massacre, of American troops.

It was still worse at Santiago. The first day's fighting was utterly indecisive, except at El Caney, where the Americans, almost ten to one, succeeded, after ten or twelve hours, in overcoming a handful of Spaniards who did not have a single gun. The only credit possible in this action was due the Spaniards, who fought with the utmost valor and stubbornness; and yet El Caney was heralded by the American correspondents as a magnificent victory of American arms and the American forces engaged were greatly minimized while the Spaniards were greatly multiplied.

Two events occurred on the left wing of the American army that have since become famous. One of these was the storming of Kettle Hill by the Rough Riders and two negro regiments, and the other was the inglorious conduct of a New York volunteer regiment. The flight of the New York volunteer regiment was proclaimed as a brilliant achievement and the men who ran were represented as the heroes of the battle. The only correspondent who had the manhood to describe the panic as it was came very near losing his position. The storming of Kettle Hill was so greatly magnified by correspondents who did not see it—and there really was little to see—has been so greatly magnified for political purposes because of the part taken by the Rough Riders, that it is quite probable that history, that is American history, will perpetuate the ridiculous inaccuracies of these early reports. Even a history of the Spanish War, published some months later, reproduced most of the errors of the correspondents in the field—showing the persistence with which the public will cling to picturesque error.



In this connection a word should be said in reference to the different treatment by American war correspondents of the regular army and of volunteers. From the accounts in the Boston papers of the battle of El Caney it would be supposed that the Massachusetts regiment, which took a rather unimportant part in that engagement, actually won the battle. In the accounts in the New York papers of Santiago, the New York volunteer regiment was lauded as a band of young Bayards. As a matter of fact, the regulars won both battles, and won all of the battles in the war. A regiment of hardened regulars is equal, on the field of battle, to at least a half dozen of these volunteer regiments, no matter how courageous or how full of fighting the volunteers may be. And yet the war correspondents seem to be instructed to magnify the deeds of the volunteers to the disparagement of the infinitely superior regulars. This is a shame to the American press and an insult to the American army.

The rights, duties, and privileges of war correspondents are being made the subjects of a specially lively discussion in the press of the world today, because of the farcical breaking down of too ambitious plans to portray in the most lurid manner the progress of the Russo-Japanese war. In this war the correspondents, to use a political and gambling phrase, have "failed to make good," and are now filling the world with their lamentations. They have been almost ignored by both combatants, and have been kept so far from the front that they have actually seen nothing of the war and have had to depend for their descriptions upon the reports of soldiers engaged in the fighting, aided by well-practised imaginations. It is difficult for us in this country and in England, who fear the terrible power of the press, to conceive how these things can be; how Japan or Russia could dare to challenge the ill will of the war correspondents. It may seem, to the average reader of some of the New York



papers, that the corps of correspondents and photographers in the rear of Kuropatkin and of Oyama must be more dreaded by those chieftains than the embattled foe in front. And yet the war has somehow gone on without them, and in spite of their high umbrage at being so cavalierly treated by Peterburg and Tōkyō. It is hard to imagine, however, that the great naval victory of August 10, the brilliant fighting on the Yalu, at Nan-shan, and at Liao-yang and on the Shakhe, could have occurred without the presence of war correspondents. How has it been possible for commanders in the field to fight these battle and to win them without the aid of these picturesque allies?

Never did the press of the whole world prepare for describing and picturing a war in so elaborate and lavish a manner as it did for the war between Russia and Japan. It was confidently expected that the struggle would be picturesque, dramatic, and affording excellent material for the brush of the artist, the crayon of the special illustrator, the camera of the modest photographer, and the burning pencils of hundreds of correspondents. Regiments of these took the field. Very soon stragglers from these regiments came limply back after waiting weeks in Tōkyō, or Harbin, or Mukden, and being unable to see anything except the backs of reinforcements marching to the distant front. Never before was there such a dearth of war 'news.' Even the little British campaigns in the interior of Africa, or the invasion of inaccessible Tibet, were much more fully and promptly described than have been the operations on the coasts or within a few miles in the interior of Manchuria.

Both the Russians and the Japanese showed themselves from the start averse to allowing correspondents with the fighting line; but Japan has been more exacting than Russia in this respect. This is easily accounted for, because, as the Russians were retreating and generally along a single line, it did not matter so much if correspondents should



date their despatches from any point within Russian territory. Such an intimation would not serve the Japanese at all. But even with this security, the Russians would not permit many correspondents near the front and studiously prevented their sending off any information that would discourage the people at home or disclose the movements of the army. The Japanese adopted a more rigorous and a more effective, while at the same time a more honest, attitude. They simply would not allow the correspondents to go to the front at all. They were kept in Japan, 'marking time,' as one of the most restless and egotistic of them has described it.

It is not a little remarkable and it is immensely to its credit that the press, as a rule, has approved the Japanese policy with regard to war correspondents. Even if deprived of picturesque war fiction, by reason of the regulations of the Japanese army, it has yet been candid enough to recognize the necessity or the advisability, from a Japanese point of view, of the policy adopted. The Minneapolis Tribune has expressed what is probably the view held by most of the better class of American papers:

Japan is giving the whole world a lesson in dealing with newspaper correspondents as well as in other details of the art of war. These non-combatants are always in the way. Governments dependent upon popular favor tolerate them because they fear the press, though Kitchener managed to keep them in check in Egypt and South Africa. They can be endured in a little comic opera war like ours with Spain, though even then it was necessary to kick some yellow impertinents out of Cuba. But Japan is fighting grimly for her life, and cares more to protect her strategy from the enemy than to placate a morbid or imaginary public opinion on the other side of the world.

The London Spectator—speaking, it is true, from the unprejudiced attitude of the weekly that does not use illustrations or depend upon war news—goes even farther than the American paper. It says:

We fail to see what constitutes the special claim of the war correspondent. He is with the Japanese army for his own purposes.



Neither he nor the journal which employs him has had in view the interest of the Japanese Government or the Japanese nation. No doubt a brilliant account of a Japanese victory will excite a great deal of interest and sympathy in this country. But this kind of emotion will not have the slightest influence on the course of events, whereas the accidental communication of Japanese purposes to the Russians may make the difference between victory and defeat in a particular engagement, and incidentally, perhaps, affect the result of the war.

The Japanese have been exactly right in this, as they have been scrupulously right in almost all of their policies during the war. Unquestionably, this policy seems, at first sight, discourteous and little to the credit of the people that holds unchallenged the first place in courtesy and politeness. But, unfortunately, in this instance it was not a question of mere courtesy. A great deal was at stake. The Japanese plan of campaign demanded the utmost secrecy, and any report that, by its language or by disclosing the place of writing, would convey any intimation to the enemy of the whereabouts of the Japanese armies or of their strength might well have been fatal to the success of their strategy. The Japanese, in a campaign planned by Kodama as exactly and minutely as Moltke planned the invasion of France, were to isolate and invest Port Arthur with one army, while three other armies, widely separated, were to advance through lower Manchuria and converge on Kuropatkin's main army at Liao-yang. No matter how brilliant a victory Kuroki might win at the Yalu, no matter what magnificent success was achieved by Nodzu in the center or Oku in the West, and no matter how eager the Japanese people would have read of these triumphs, or how liberally the English and American public would have bought war-extras with harrowing accounts of the fighting, it would have been suicidal to have permitted any information sent out from the headquarters of either of these armies. For instance, if an American or English correspondent had been permitted, just before the battle of Liao-yang, to send a



despatch that would have shown the exact location of Kuroki's division—even if it had shown no more—would probably have been fatal to Oyama's plans and would have enabled Kuropatkin to defeat the magnificent turning movement and repel the Japanese attack. Japan could not, of course, risk such a disaster.

There is no intention here of intimating that correspondents, as a rule, can not be trusted, and trusted far. Very few of the men, who are sent to the front by reputable papers, would betray a secret or publish information that they know or suppose might benefit the enemy. It is well known that in Washington immediately before the war with Spain, later at Tampa before the departure of our army for Cuba, and in the Cuban campaign itself, correspondents knew a great many secrets concerning the plans and strength of our forces that would have been of incalculable value to the enemy. But none of these secrets was disclosed. And yet it could easily have been otherwise, as a single dishonest correspondent could have published in his paper information that would have made futile the invasion of Cuba; and, for the sake of giving his paper a 'beat,' he may have defeated plans and preparations of months.

The Japanese, in this as in so many other things, have pointed us to the true solution of a perplexing problem. We have not known what to do with war correspondents. If we leave them behind, the press howls its denunciations, and Americans and Englishmen are notoriously terrorized by the home press. If we take them into the field, their egotism, their ambitions, and their rivalries, result in the publishing of information that aids the enemy. But Japan does not trouble itself about these things. It cuts Gordian knots as fast as it comes to them; and the correspondents are unceremoniously left behind, to kick their heels in Tōkyō.

It is already apparent that the Japanese policy was proper



and wise. There is no doubt that the campaign, particularly the kind of campaign conducted, would have been imperiled by press despatches. There is also no doubt that the campaign has been carried forward with less friction and with greater swiftness and effectiveness because the war correspondents were in Tōkyō rather than with the headquarters of the army. The Japanese commanders have no doubt forfeited a great deal of immediate honor and fame by reason of the absence of correspondents; for no one can doubt that, if the correspondents had had free play, the press of the world would have rung with praise of Kuroki, Nodzu, Oku, and a dozen other brilliant Japanese commanders. But these heroes can await their meed of praise, and are content to win victories now, without laudatory reports of war correspondents that might prevent them winning victories in the future.

With the passing of the war correspondent, we should, of course, lose a great deal. We should lose, for instance, some of the most picturesque descriptions of battles, such as were furnished by men like Russell, Forbes, and Stevens. We should also miss the pleasure of reading at breakfast the lurid description of fighting the day before at the other side of the globe, even if these descriptions had to be revised and finally abandoned as utter and absurd fiction. These would be real losses; but we should have our compensations. We should not have to correct our point of view with every day's news from the front. We should not be harrowed by tidings of disaster in the evening to find the next morning that it was a false rumor. We should not have to read accounts of battle in which the pronoun 'I' figures fifty times in a few paragraphs. We should also be permitted to give due credit to the commander in the field, with a little less glory to the war correspondent, who, after all, does not really win the battle. We should also get closer to the real facts of the war, even if the news were a little late and cold.



In this country, and in England also, we should have what is very greatly needed, a proper treatment of the soldiers who fight the battles and win victories, and not the senseless glorification, for political or advertizing purposes, of the volunteer troops and officers.

It seems very probable, therefore, that the day of the war correspondent has passed or is rapidly passing. After the successful experiment of Japan in excluding them from the field, other nations will have the courage to adopt the same policy. It is not probable that any future war will see the army of correspondents that invaded Manchuria and Japan immediately after the breaking out of hostilities. In spite of the best intention on the part of the correspondent, and in spite of the utmost honesty and sincerity, he may serve the opposite army as effectively as a paid spy. He has access to sources of information that no spy could reach, and to publish some of the information that he can obtain would frequently be fatal to the plans of the general in the field. The Russo-Japanese war, which has shattered so many idols, may also shatter that of the war correspondent.



## GENERAL ROBERT E. LEE

EVERY day that has passed since Appomattox has served to sweep away the clouds of detraction that at first obscured the name of Robert E. Lee, until the chief military leader of the Southern Confederacy now stands out before the world forever as the greatest commander, not only of the Civil War, but since Napoleon. This is now willingly admitted even by his enemies, as it has always been admitted by competent and impartial foreign critics. Only one thing more was needed to complete the portrait of this lofty character—the presentation of the man himself, outside of his great abilities as a military chieftain. Nothing could possibly have done this better than the publication of his private letters, which make up the bulk of the admirable volume before us.\* We have had appreciation of Lee as a soldier, from countless sources; and the world had already formed its judgment of him as the greatest general that this country has produced; but it was still necessary for the world to see this simple and beautiful character, as it is unconsciously unfolded in his domestic letters, to appreciate fully the simplicity and the nobility of the man.

It is, indeed, a remarkable thing that a man who a generation ago led the armies of a section of the country then in revolt—or rebellion, as the reader may prefer—should so soon, by mere force of his matchless ability in the field and his unspotted character as a man, be recognized, even by the portion of the country he opposed in arms, as the greatest example of American ability and civic virtue. This alone

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\*Recollections and Letters of General Robert E. Lee. By his Son, Captain Robert E. Lee. Doubleday, Page, and Company, New York. \$2.50, net.



is fame enough for any personage in history. For years it was the natural impulse of Northern writers to place Grant, by reason of the success of overwhelming numbers and resources, as the greatest military leader produced by the Civil War. But in the cooler and clearer light of a long peace, it has been inevitable that Lee should take the first rank. How different would it have been, and how great indeed would Lee have towered in American history, if Gettysburg had been a Southern victory! And Lee himself has said, and against his judgment there can be no appeal, that had Jackson been at Gettysburg the Federal army would have been defeated.

The principal value of this book consists, therefore, not in its treatment of Robert E. Lee as a commander, but in its dealing with him as a man and as a citizen. For the first time we have here an adequate presentation of Lee in his private life. Other books have been published that are necessary in forming an estimate of Lee as a soldier, such as the invaluable work by the Rev. J. W. Jones, Chaplain in Lee's army, and the work by General A. L. Long, his Secretary in the field; but this book must be read for a full knowledge and understanding of Lee's private life. It is by far, therefore, the most valuable book on General Lee that has yet been published.

The author, or rather the compiler, Captain Robert E. Lee, son of the great General, acted wisely in giving up the bulk of the space at his command to the letters from his father to members of the family or to intimate friends. They form an infinitely better commentary on Lee than anything that his son or any one else could have written. It would be difficult if not impossible, indeed, to find anywhere a series of letters written by a man of equal ability and greatness, and equally the idol of a people and in the flush of military success, that are at once so manly and dignified, and yet so simple and sincere. They are typical of the noble character of the man who wrote them.



It may be objected that they do not give any insight into the military plans of the great commander, or any hint of his tremendous genius. This is entirely true. But these letters were not written for the purpose of explaining military plans. They are private letters, for the most part; and even on rare occasions where he writes to men inquiring about his military life, as in the case of the letter to Herbert C. Saunders, of England, General Lee preferred to keep strictly within facts, or to give a simple judgment of facts, rather than go into technical explanation or discussion. At one time, he was preparing to write the history of his campaigns—a plan unfortunately abandoned—and it may be for this reason that he reserved a discussion of his famous battles. Had he written this book, it would be there that we should expect to find a discussion of military matters and some explanation of the great campaigns of Northern Virginia. We shall look in vain for them in these simple and delightful letters to his family and friends. These deal only with his private affairs, his feelings and his personal experiences; and the reader, we are sure, will be gratified to find that this is the case, as it is the only side of this great soul with which we are not familiar.

There are some points in Lee's career that are still a little cloudy, although it is unnecessary that they should be so. One of these is his decision to cast his lot with the Southern rather than with the Northern cause. He has explained this himself in a letter to his sister, Mrs Anne Marshall, and it gives a sufficient and final justification of his conduct. He says:

We are in a state of war which will yield to nothing. The whole South is in a state of revolution, into which Virginia, after a long struggle, has been drawn; and though I recognize no necessity for this state of things, and would have forborne and pleaded to the end for redress of grievances, real or supposed, yet in my own person, I had to meet the question whether I should take part against my native State. With all my devotion to the Union and the feeling of loyalty and duty of an American citizen, I have not



been able to make up my mind to raise my hand against my relatives, my children, my home. I have therefore resigned my commission in the Army, and save in defense of my native State, with the sincere hope that my poor services may never be needed, I hope I may never be called on to draw my sword. I know you will blame me; but you must think as kindly of me as you can, and believe that I have endeavoured to do what I thought right.

Another point is as to Lee's connection with the treatment of Federal prisoners. A great deal of obloquy has been cast upon the Southern Confederacy because of the alleged brutal treatment of prisoners at Libby and at Andersonville. To read some Northern accounts, one would suppose that these prisoners were practically murdered. That this is an unjust charge has been often proved. It is now well known that, although there were more Federal prisoners in Southern prisons than there were Confederate prisoners in Federal prisons, yet a greater proportion—even a greater number—of Southern soldiers died in Northern prisons. It must also be borne in mind that the South was utterly unable to take proper care of its prisoners, while the North, with unlimited resources, could have taken the best of care of Southern prisoners. When this is remembered, the charge of bad treatment is not only disproved, but reversed.

But whatever may have been the treatment of Federal prisoners, it is certain that General Lee had nothing whatever to do with it. His name was shamefully included in the first indictment against Wirz, but afterward withdrawn. In writing about this, in a letter to Mrs Jefferson Davis, he says: "As regards the treatment of the Andersonville prisoners, to which you allude, I know nothing and can say nothing of my own knowledge. I never had anything to do with any prisoners, except to send those taken on the fields where I was engaged to the Provost Marshal General at Richmond."

Another mooted point in Lee's career is the battle of Gettysburg, whether he should have won or lost that des-



perate contest. As to Gettysburg, General Lee said that if Jackson had been with him the Confederacy would have gained a victory, "for," he added, "Jackson would have held the heights which Ewell took on the first day." And, again:

Its loss was occasioned by a combination of circumstances. It was commenced in the absence of correct intelligence. It was continued in the effort to overcome the difficulties by which we were surrounded, and it would have been gained could one determined and united blow been delivered by our whole line. As it was, victory trembled in the balance for three days, and the battle resulted in the infliction of as great an amount of injury as was received, and in frustrating the Federal plan of campaign for the season.

As to the crowning disaster of Appomattox, General Lee gave a full explanation of his course to Herbert C. Saunders, who has the following account of the interview:

He spoke of the final surrender as inevitable, owing to the superiority in numbers of the enemy. His own army had, during the last few weeks, suffered materially from defection in its ranks, and, discouraged by failures and worn out by hardships, had at the time of the surrender only 7,892 men under arms, and this little army was almost surrounded by one of 100,000. They might, the General said with an air piteous to behold, have cut their way out as they had done before, but, looking upon the struggle as hopeless, I was not surprised to hear him say that he thought it cruel to prolong it. In two other battles he named (Sharpsburg and Chancellorsville, I think he said), the Confederates were to the Federals in point of numbers as 35,000 to 120,000 and as 45,000 to 155,000 respectively, so that the mere disparity of numbers was not sufficient to convince him of the necessity of surrender.

It is cause for congratulation that so much of this book has been devoted to General Lee's private life after the War. It is possible that in the terrible peace that followed—a peace as destructive and as ruthless as war itself—Lee's character rose to its highest. In a noble letter to Mrs Jefferson Davis, he advised a complete submission to the illfortune that had befallen the South. He said:

I have thought, from the time of the cessation of hostilities, that silence and patience on the part of the South was the true



course; and I think so still. Controversy of all kinds will, in my opinion, only serve to continue excitement and passion, and will prevent the public mind from the acknowledgment and acceptance of the truth. These considerations have kept me from replying to accusations made against myself, and induced me to recommend the same to others.

The same sentiment is given in a letter to Governor Letcher:

The duty of its [the South's] citizens, then, appears to me too plain to admit of doubt. All should unite in honest efforts to obliterate the effects of the war, and to restore the blessings of peace. They should remain, if possible, in the country; promote harmony and good feeling; qualify themselves to vote, and elect to the State and general legislatures wise and patriotic men, who will devote their abilities to the interests of the country and the healing of all dissensions. I have invariably recommended this course since the cessation of hostilities, and have endeavoured to practise it myself.

Indeed, General Lee's life from Appomattox to the day of his death, October 12, 1870, was exactly what was to have been expected of this noble character. It was a lofty example to men of every class in the South, among them many sturdy fighters like Robert Toombs, who would not be reconciled to the situation. General Lee accepted the result of the war as a great soldier and a great man should accept it. He immediately turned his mind to making the best of misfortune and to the rebuilding of his State and of his people. It is very likely that the future historian may award to these years of distress and humiliation the highest praise, as being exactly where the man who will unquestionably rank first in war and in peace among Americans of our first century, rose to his loftiest grandeur.



## EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE

JUDGE PARKER is a joke, and the Democratic Party is no longer a respectable opposition.

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POOR Judge Parker! He gave up a judgeship and received political annihilation. "What will he do now? poor thing!"

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OF COURSE Judge Parker is sorry that he left the Bench, and so is the great bulk of the Democratic Party. But he evidently needed the experience, and he got it. It was rather expensive to his party, but if it learned its lesson it will have been worth all it cost.

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THERE is no mistake that the people want a continuance of the present national policy on all lines, and they are entitled to have it. All the howling of the mugwumps against the tariff and the foreign policy of the Administration should be treated with absolute contempt. The American people are entitled to have the kind of administration they want; and they want the kind they are getting, and it is the duty of the party just elected to give it to them.

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WITH silent satisfaction, Mr Bryan can say "I told you so." He will now have the right to say that the Cleveland-Hill-Parker-mugwump element can lead the Democratic Party only to defeat. The shriveled dimensions of the Parker vote will amply justify Mr Bryan in leading the reorganization of the Democratic Party. The mugwump leadership has been an utter absolute failure. It has received the most deadening vote of censure that was ever awarded a great political party.

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THE New York Times has the effrontery to suggest that Mr Roosevelt use the power given by his great triumph "to advocate tariff reform." His unparalleled majority was received in response to his emphatic and unqualified pledge to maintain protection. To now become an advocate of "tariff reform" would show Mr Roosevelt to be a veritable humbug, which he is not. But the New York Times has lost all right to give advice to a Roosevelt administration. It has earned the right only to be ignored.

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THE New York Times devotes an earnest editorial to showing that Judge Parker need not be ashamed of his part in the campaign. Perhaps not; but the Times should be as heartily ashamed of the scandalous part it played in the campaign. The weakness of Judge Parker was in following the dishonest lead of the Times. The St Louis platform and Judge Parker's innate weakness would have made his election impossible, but the size of the crushing defeat was greatly aided by the discreditable advocacy of the New York Times.

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ACCORDING to the election returns, all there is left of the Democratic Party is the South. If the South is to furnish all the electoral votes of the party, it has the right to furnish the leadership and the policy. It is more than probable that if the South should take the responsibility of leadership, it would display more sense, sagacity, and statesmanship than was exhibited either in the St Louis Convention or in the management of the recent campaign. The South has no interest in business disruption, and it is safe to say that it may be trusted to go with its own interests.

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IT MUST be said for the New York Post that, while it joined in most of the hypocritical tirades against prosperity, and helped the misrepresentation of economic facts during



the campaign, it did not, with much heart, parade that empty stuff about Cortelyou and corporation contributions. The humbug of that cry, which absorbed the soul of the Times, was too obvious for the Post. It is encouraging to note that there are some forms of hypocritical sensation that are too rank for the Post. If poor Judge Parker had only been strong enough to repudiate this sensational trash, how different he would have seemed to honest eyes.

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IN HIS call for reorganization, Mr Bryan raises the banner of the Kansas City platform heresies. He insists that the Democrats must be more radical—not less. They must stick to the free-silver issue, give no quarter to trusts, demand the abolition of the tariff, the adoption of an income tax, public ownership of railroads, and other similarly radical measures.

Well, perhaps this might be a good thing. By such means the present mongrel, motley party would more quickly be annihilated, and thus clear the ground for a rational, constructive party whose policy might be guided by political principles in harmony with the institutions and interests of modern society.

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IN HIS "I told you so" letter, Mr Bryan admits that the Democratic Party tried to play the conservative in order to catch corporation contributions—and failed. There is much truth in this. So long as the Democratic Party stands for the disrupting notions put forth in the St Louis platform, it ought not to expect either the financial or moral support of the business interests of the country.

The mere nomination of a respectable weakling or the appointment of a Wall Street financier as Chairman of its Finance Committee will not accomplish the result. Mr Bryan is right. If it can not be genuinely conservative, it might as well be raving mad—in either case it will be voted down by the people.

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MR ROOSEVELT showed great sagacity in selecting the hour of his marvelous triumph to make the announcement that he would not again be a candidate. His ambition—to be endorsed by the votes of the people—has been abundantly gratified. Such a victory could probably never be repeated. In making his announcement immediately after the election, he dates his retirement from the uppermost point of the highest wave of popular endorsement ever given to an American citizen.

Moreover, this makes him entirely free from all influence or the suspicion of influence from the hope of further favors during his entire administration. There is one thing about this that everybody may be assured of—Mr Roosevelt means it. He will not, like Cleveland, declare for one term, then take two elections and three nominations. When Mr Roosevelt says he will not accept another nomination, he means it, and will live up to it.

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AS IF to show how piously profound it can sometimes be, the Atlanta Constitution, without seeming to smile, says:

"The prevailing national prosperity is due to a beneficent Providence, and not to the Republican Party."

Of course, the Constitution intends no reflection on Providence, yet its remark implies that Providence refuses to work for the Democrats. What was its "beneficent Providence" doing during the Cleveland administration? Was it a beneficent Providence, or the folly of Democratic policy that closed the factories, and spread bankruptcy, enforced idleness, and soup-kitchens over the land?

What the people want is prosperity, whether it is "due to a beneficent Providence" or to the Republican Party. If they can have neither a sensible policy nor the aid of Providence under Democracy, their only alternative is to elect Republicans. If the Democratic Party wants to win, it



must either have sense or get on the side of Providence. To be against both is to ensure defeat.

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IN THE light of the election, the editorials of the mugwump press during October and the first week of November would now make very interesting reading. They show the real character of mugwump journalism. The statements they made about the tariff, and about prices and corporations and the President, show how utterly untrustworthy many great papers are as advisers of the people in their political duties. There is one wholesome feature in it all—the people seem to take very little notice of it. It often occurs that when all the newspapers are against a candidate he gets the biggest majority. In the last municipal election in the city of New York all the great dailies and nearly the entire State press was opposed to the election of McClellan, yet he was triumphantly elected. All the so-called independent papers, which include many of the largest dailies in the country, were opposed to Mr Roosevelt, and witness the result. It is doubtful if his majority would have been as great if they had all supported him.

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THE mugwump press actually admits defeat, but it thinks the verdict was personal and had no real relation to tariff reform. Such blindness or conceit is hopeless. To all who have eyes to see, the verdict in the recent election was an emphatic "No" to all the claims of the mugwumps about tariff reform and corporation persecution and other kindred cries. Of course these doctrinaire reformers must go on saying something, but the Administration and the Republican Party in Congress should treat their demand for tariff reform with complete contempt. The decision to revise the tariff or not revise it should be determined entirely by the economics of the situation, from the point of view of national protection. The people have endorsed this policy as no



policy was ever endorsed before. The doctrine of national protection and the natural development of industry should govern the policy of the Administration and Congress, regardless of anything that the mugwumps and Democrats may say. The people have given the mandate, and it is for those who received the votes to carry out the order. It is the voice of the people and not the noise of a disgraced and shriveled party that should be heeded.

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THE long drawn out strike of the cotton operatives of Fall River is a sad commentary on the cotton industry of New England. There must be something the matter with the management of an industry if it has to reduce wages 12½ per cent. in the midst of industrial prosperity.

The secret of the situation in Fall River, and to a considerable extent in New England, is the failure to keep up with the times in the use of modern machinery. During the last twenty years there has been a revolution in cotton machinery. The South has adopted the latest improvements, while New England manufacturers are trying to recoup their diminished profits by reducing wages. It is needless to say that this must prove a losing game. Laborers will not permit this, and they ought not to. If cotton manufacturers will not use the best available machinery, they are not entitled to succeed, and, least of all, by reducing wages. The fruits of business success properly belong to those who will use the most scientific methods. To secure the capital for new machinery may involve the reorganization of the corporations, it may even require a few trusts in the cotton industry. If so, let the trusts come. The concerns which insist upon using effete machinery must eventually go.

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THE Evening Post is very much alarmed lest an alliance be formed of the Populists, Socialists, and Bryanites to get possession of the Democratic Party. It says:

"Unless the conservative Democratic leaders far and near are prepared to keep up the fight there is serious danger that their party will once more become a grave menace, not merely to the business interests of the country, but to its social order and to the rights of property."

Nothing Bryan and his abettors may do is likely to be more menacing to the "business interests of the country" or "to its social order" or to the "rights of property" than the policy represented in the St Louis platform. It would tax the ingenuity of a Bryan-Watson-Debbs trio to conduct a more social disrupting propaganda than has been led by the mugwump press during the recent campaign. There is no danger that an alliance of "Socialists, Populists, and Bryanites" would advocate anything more menacing to the business interests of the country" than that advocated by the Post and the so-called conservative leaders of the Democratic Party. If it is a choice between the Clevelandites and the Bryanites, the latter are infinitely less dangerous to the welfare of the country, because they are better understood—they are not humbugs.

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The greatest moral question which now confronts us is, Shall the trusts and corporations be prevented from contributing money to control or to aid in controlling elections?—Judge Parker's farewell word.

It is evident from this and similar utterances that had Parker been elected he would have been a weakling in the hands of the Bryan fanatics, and probably have made his administration a persecutor of business corporations. As a matter of fact, it is practically true that no large corporations or so-called trusts have contributed to the campaign. Whatever has been given has been given by individuals.



Would Mr Parker prevent citizens from contributing to campaign expenses because they are rich? Shall Mr Rockefeller or Mr Gould or Mr Morgan or J. J. Hill be prohibited from contributing to campaign support, because they are the heads of corporations? Then, who shall contribute? Men like Bryan and Parker and professional people will not contribute. If business men who have the means are prohibited from giving who shall pay campaign expenses?

The simple truth about all this howl against trust contributions rises from the fact that they went to the wrong treasury. If Belmont could have got the money not a word would have been said. It is a 'sour grapes' cry of a defeated party.

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IN THEIR efforts to explain the unparalleled defeat at the polls, the mugwump press is calling it "Mr Roosevelt's personal triumph," yet only a few short weeks ago these very journals were proclaiming his unpopularity. While it is true that Mr Roosevelt was personally popular in the West, it is not at all true that this overwhelming vote is due to any personal quality of the President. All signs belie that explanation. The landslide was obviously due to the people's determination not to have another business-disturbing administration. They had enough of that sort of thing in the Cleveland administration. Despite all the mugwumps said about high prices and low wages, everybody knew that they were having business prosperity, and the Democratic pretense that they were not treated as dishonest. There is no doubt, however, that the manly, straightforward defense of the tariff and the industrial policy of the Administration in general, in Mr Roosevelt's notification address and letter of acceptance and the scathing rebuke he gave to the pettifogging remarks of Judge Parker, boosted him in the estimation of the American people. These personal qualities helped largely to increase the vote, but the real force in the



tidal wave was the determination to vote down the free-trade and anti-prosperity propaganda of the Democratic Party.

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THE Journal of Commerce admits that "the people of the United States have decided by an emphatic vote that they did not desire a change in the Administration." Yet, probably from the force of habit, it warns the Republicans that if they do not revise the tariff they may invite disaster in the next contest.

Pray, what does this overwhelming vote mean, if it is not an emphatic snub to all who, like the Journal of Commerce, are everlastingly nagging about a revision of the tariff? Was not that the main issue? Was not the ammunition of the campaign chiefly directed against the tariff? Were not the speeches and editorials and campaign literature all a cry for tariff revision? Has not that been stuck under the nose of every citizen from one end of the land to the other? and is it not about that very cry that the answer has come in thundering tones, "Let the tariff alone?" The towering majorities everywhere emphatically say that the American people have no faith in the professional tariff tinkers like the Journal of Commerce and the mugwump press. If the verdict is not an emphatic command that the mugwumps and Democrats shall not be trusted to touch the tariff, and that its revision shall be left to the Republicans, then pray, what does it mean? The majority party in Congress has received unqualified authority from the people to tell such nagging tariff reformers to sit down.

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THE effort of Thomas W. Lawson to create a sensation by his story of Frenzied Finance seems to have been a good deal of a failure. Mr Lawson tells a frenzied story, but everybody can see between the lines, and very often in the lines, that it is the story of the disappointed adventurer. He



takes pains to say that his complaint is not against the men, but the system of finance. The men who manipulate the financial affairs in such colossal proportions are honest and fair. It is the system only that it at fault; yet no man was more willing to use the system and be a part of its mechanism than was Mr Lawson, so long as he was successful. He was for years the self-appointed financial adviser of the Boston investors, he used to publish his advisory statements regarding copper. He admits that it was largely on his advice that "the public invested their savings to the extent of \$200,000,000." Now, because they were largely losers, Mr Lawson has entered the rôle as the exposé of trusts. Much that he says may be true; then again it may not. He has motive enough to be unfair, and has ample means for doing so. Besides, the public never has much respect for the man "who turn state's evidence." If it be true, and Mr Lawson says it is, that Mr Rogers, Mr Rockefeller, and others who have been the controlling investors in amalgamated copper, are honest men, that is all the public want to know, and it is likely to have more respect for them than for Mr Lawson, who is trying to stir up their prejudices by a sensational story because he was out-done at his own game.

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THE Atlanta Constitution asks that Mr Roosevelt, "now that he is elected a second term" have "breadth enough to treat all sections alike," and "manhood enough to outline and follow a policy that will not be based upon sectional resentment and narrow partizanship."

The Constitution may have many good reasons for not liking Mr Roosevelt, but nothing is gained by being unfair. Mr Roosevelt is temperamentally rash. He has done many things more hastily than seemed to many advisable. His insistence on the appointment of Crum as Collector of the Port of Charleston, and his having Booker Washington to



dinner at the White House may, and probably will, always be regarded by many as injudicious; but there was nothing in these acts which indicated resentment and narrow partizanship. The acts were personal and not partizan at all.

His refusal to bow to the coercion of an irresponsible mob in the Indianola case was purely a mark of manly duty. Any President who would bow to the dictates of a mob regarding his appointments to office would not be fit to stay in the White House a day. Whatever objections one may have to Mr Roosevelt's personal characteristics, it can not be said, with any kind of fairness, that his administration has been "based upon sectional resentment and narrow partizanship." No man was ever in the White House who displayed a stronger spirit of even-handed fairness. His view repeat, he never has acted, and by temperament is not of the race question is not that of the Constitution, but, we likely to act, upon resentment and sectional partizanship.



## QUESTION BOX

### Protection the National Policy

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir: The Democrats in their recent fight—if the most apathetic campaign in American history may be so termed—had no clear issues, but fought as one beating the air. They denounced Roosevelt, trusts, and the tariff; but they did not confine themselves to any one or more clean cut issues. Can it be considered, therefore, that the tariff, or the principle of protection was an issue in the recent election? If it was, is it not clear that the American people have definitely adopted protection as the best policy for the nation; and will not this decision stand for at least many years?

S. M. W.

That would seem to be the case. Our correspondent is entirely right in saying the Democratic Party had no clean-cut issues. It did confine itself chiefly to attacks against existing politics and the present Administration and Mr Roosevelt in particular. Yet the fact remains that the brunt of its attack was against the tariff, and, secondly, against the trusts; but the chief charge against the trusts was that they were fostered by the tariff. This was the burden of Judge Parker's talk—it was the burden of the leading speeches at the St Louis Convention and of the documental literature issued by the Party and also by the Democratic press throughout the campaign. If there was one issue that they voted upon, it was the tariff.

The key-note of Mr Roosevelt's nomination address and letter of acceptance and of the Republican platform was its adherence to the protective policy. The Republican Party staked everything upon that, and the Democrats emptied the vials of their wrath upon the same issue. The vote was a



complete and unqualified humiliation rejection of everything the Democrats did. There were no exceptions to it anywhere in the country. Every doubtful State joined in the verdict with unparalleled emphasis. If ever an Administration was endorsed, it was the present Administration. It would seem, therefore, that as our correspondent suggests "the American people have definitely adopted protection as the best policy for the nation." This is the only conclusion that can be drawn from the election.

Whether free trade is better than protection, or protection is better than free trade, matters not. The American people have decided beyond all doubt that they want protection. This does not decide the merits of the question, but it decides the preference of the people. Under democratic institutions, such a decision by popular vote ought to be respected as well by the defeated as the victorious party.

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#### Effect of Election on Trust-baiting

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir: Evidently we are now to have a still more bitter 'war' on the 'trusts.' Even Judge Parker, the day after his overwhelming defeat, announced that the trusts must be attacked; Mr. Hearst has thundered the same threat from his editorial tripod; and William Jennings Bryan has re-echoed it in far and unredeemed Nebraska. Are we not to have, therefore, more vituperation, more railing at business combinations, than we have ever had?

If the Democrats, as seems apparent, take the trusts for their issue in 1908, will they be able to make capital out of the fact that Mr Roosevelt asked for and obtained from Congress a half million dollars to destroy the trusts, and that he expended only \$25,000 of this war fund previous to his recent election?

S. M. W.

If the leadership of the Democratic Party passes to the Bryan 'trust' element or remains in the hands of the friends of Judge Parker, there may be, as our correspondent sug-



gests, "a more bitter war on the trusts;" but it can not be much bitterer than it has been, and the votes at the recent election show that the people are not likely to take vituperation seriously.

The people like prosperity, and as long as they can have that, they are not going to join in any political crusade led by fanatics against corporations and vested business interests. Such a campaign would probably tend further to annihilate the Democratic Party. The election has made it quite evident that neither the business people nor the masses of the working people believe the anti-trust stuff, and Judge Parker's silly talk on that subject helped greatly to increase the majority against him. It does not seem probable that the fact that Mr Roosevelt spent only \$25,000 out of a half million fund voted to persecute corporations would tell against the Republican Party. It can not tell against Mr Roosevelt, because he will not be a candidate, and everybody knows that that vote was passed for campaign purposes. The Democrats demanded it and the Republicans, on the eve of an election, did not dare refuse it.

It is difficult to prophesy anything about the campaign of 1908; but at this writing all signs seem to indicate that the American people have no heart for mere prancing politics. They want a steady, helpful business policy, and they are beginning to believe that most of the talk against corporations is for political purposes. If business prosperity continues, an anti-trust campaign on the Bryan-Parker lines would probably prove another disastrous boomerang. The only lines upon which the Democratic Party can hope to reorganize for success in 1908 is to get in line with the interests of domestic industry and the industrial prosperity of this country. This is not likely to be done under the leadership of either the Bryan faction or the Parker faction. A return to the old Democracy under the leadership of the South might do something to give stability and respect-



bility to the Party, but the Bryan-Hearst and Cleveland-Parker factions are too completely discredited to be soon resurrected into effective leadership.

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**Will Bryan, or Southern Leaders, Reorganize  
Democracy?**

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir: Is it not one of the lessons of the recent campaign that to William Jennings Bryan will be left the work of reorganizing the Democratic Party? Is it not probable, also, that he will call in, or must accept, the assistance of that great artificer in politics, William Randolph Hearst? Are we not to expect, therefore, a season of yellowness in politics, as we have had in journalism?

A. J.

Mr Bryan will undoubtedly regard this as his opportunity to organize a yellow Democracy, and with the aid of Hearst's papers and Hearst's money he may be quite formidable; but there is one potent objection that may be urged against a return of the Bryan leadership, and that is that in the recent election the Bryan forces did not contribute a single electoral vote. As a political factor the Bryan faction was as impotent as the Cleveland-Parker faction. So far as party strength is concerned, the South alone has the right to leadership in the party reorganization. It has furnished the only votes the party received. This is a most opportune time for Southern leadership in the Party to assert itself; but if the South fails to avail itself of this opportunity to assume the leadership, it is very likely to go to Bryan; and if Bryan gets it, a period of yellow politics may surely be expected, and, with that, the disappearance of anything like a dignified, rational, potent Democratic Party.



## BOOK REVIEWS

FREE AMERICA. By Bolton Hall. Paper; 216 pages, 25 cents. L. S. Dickey & Co. 79, Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.

This book is thoroughly characteristic. Like its author, it is a veritable free lance. In the preface Mr Hall announces, almost boasts, that the book stands for no theory of society, especially no theory of reform. He frankly admits that he does not appeal to the public on the ground of reason or justice or economic science, because the people are too "ignorant," too "stupid," to be scientific, and too "selfish" to be just. Here is his opening paragraph:

This book is not an appeal merely to thoughtful people. The great majority of men do not think. It is not intended for "scientific economists." There are no scientific economists. It does not urge serious study of the great problems for which a solution is given. The average man never seriously studies any question. It is not an address to the sympathetic and unselfish. People as a rule are selfish, and somewhat indifferent to the condition of their fellow men. It is not a plea for justice, or for human rights now denied by our laws. Those abstractions have too little weight in the practical affairs of life. It does not present existing conditions as resulting from a conspiracy of the few against the many. The evils of the present social system are due solely to the ignorance of the many. It does not assume that mankind is divided into good people and rogues. There are two classes; but they are the clever people and the stupid.

For frankness this leaves little to be desired. It is the announcement of what the book does not do, but it is utterly devoid of helpful suggestions. This is characteristic of the entire book.



As is often the case with people who are over-frank, Mr Hall protests too much. He says his book "has no theory to prove, nor does it advocate any social reform hobby;" yet every page is loaded with the burden of a hobby, which is to show that every constructive reform attempted is, practically worthless, and the real remedy for the evils of society is the single tax, or the abolition of the private ownership of land.

To be sure, Mr Hall does not formulate this very definitely, but he makes everything point to that end. Monopoly, with Mr Hall, is the bane of human suffering. "There are two classes—the clever people and the stupid." The clever get hold of the land, and the stupid are robbed of the product of their labor, and the most effective form of robbery is the monopoly of the land.

He takes up the wage question, the railway franchise monopolies, trade-unions, immigration, protection, and most other efforts at social improvement, only to show that they are all worthless. He says, p. 176: "Ground rent alone takes from the four millions of people in Greater New York at least \$150,000,000 each year. . . . Through the real estate tax—about \$50,000,000."

He then endeavors to show that, "if industry were relieved from the taxes which at present burden it," this \$150,000,000 would go to the working people; and says:

Probably one-third would be spent directly among farmers. Another third would be spent for manufactured goods; idle workers would then be able, in turn, to buy the food stuffs, for lack of which so many of them suffer.

If it were possible (and it certainly is, if these people themselves abolish the laws which create monopolies) to double the wages of the working men and women of America, is there any doubt that there would follow an immensely increased demand for the farmers' surplus crops?



This is Mr Hall's hobby. There is not a single reform mentioned in his book that he has criticized and rejected which rests on such a palpably false basis as this. The trade-union movement has errors in it, but it has a strong vein of soundness. Money reform will not do everything, but it has a great deal of sanity in it. Tariff protection has numerous defects, but it contributes a lot to general wealth-production. This proposition of Mr Hall's to abolish ground rent and taxes, on the assumption that it would double the laborers' wages, is the very essence of fallacy. Yet Mr Hall thinks he has no hobby. This statement is not merely erroneous in theory, but it is incorrect in fact. The private ownership, or what Mr Hall chooses to call the monopoly of land, is not created by law, as he suggests. There are no laws in this or any other modern country which give possession of land by any other means than by some kind of purchase. The only exception is the granting of government land to settlers, for which they pay by cultivation. Wherever this is done—and the great West has been settled that way—it is only a very short time before some sell their land, to others, and the more energetic few become the owners of large tracts, and the less efficient many become landless. While this accords with Mr Hall's original announcement that society is divided into two classes—"the clever people and the stupid," it flatly contradicts the above statement that this mis-called monopoly is created by law.

A strong spirit of human interest and protest against injustice pervades the whole book, but it is too iconoclastic to be helpful. Like Henry George, he rejects every reform because it has defects, or is not sufficiently fundamental, and proposes a panacea that is a veritable chimera. And it is all done on the theory that government is bad and unrestricted "freedom" (another name for anarchy) is the only solution for social ills.



It is practically true that society consists of the clever people and the stupid, and that the stupid serve the clever; but no abolition of government or confiscation of private property or the rejection of all collective helpfulness can transform the stupid into the clever. If the remedy for social evils is the abolition of stupidity, then every movement which tends to educate the stupid by increasing and diversifying their experience, whether through trade-unions or corporate business development, or any other means, is a contribution to the general movement toward social betterment.

As if to emphasize his abnormal point of view Mr Hall quotes the following from Charlotte Perkins Gilman (p. 125):

Came two young children to their mother's shelf  
    (One was quite little and the other big),  
And each in freedom calmly helped himself  
    (One was a pig).  
The food was free and plenty for them both,  
    But one was rather dull and very small,  
So the big, smarter brother, nothing loath,  
    He took it all.

This, like much that Mr Hall here writes, represents the idea that society was once on a basis of freedom and equity, and has gradually grown worse. Those who succeed are big pigs, who prey upon the little ones, and the poverty of the masses is the result of the robbery of the enterprising, successful in society. This idea is as false as it is plausible. It is a perversion alike of the history and principle of wealth distribution and societary progress.

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THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE; AN INTERPRETATION AND AN ANALYSIS. By Herbert Friedenwald, Ph. D. Cloth, 299 pages, with Index; \$2. The Macmillan Company; New York and London.

While a great deal has been written about the Revolu-



tion and the Constitution and, in a general way, the Declaration of Independence, this book supplies a real vacancy in the history of our national politics. Its purpose is to show the development of the spirit of independence in the Thirteen Colonies, the recognition of this sentiment by the Congress, and the drawing and adoption of the famous Declaration, and to give an analysis of the Declaration, together with the facts leading up to it, which Jefferson so bravely said in his draft were "submitted to a candid world."

We celebrate the Fourth of July with such fervor and fatality that it seems almost impossible to conceive of a time when the spirit of independence was not rampant in America. In fact, Chalmers said that the spirit of independence dated from the first days of the settlement of the Colonies; but that this is manifestly erroneous is easily proved. The spirit of independence was of very slow growth. The early days of the Colonies, while filled with noisy brawls with royal governors, were still days of abject and willing dependence on Great Britain. There was, as is always true of distant colonies, a somewhat broader liberty enjoyed by the people here than by the people of the mother country; but Franklin's phrase, introduced into Jefferson's draft of the Constitution, that it was the design of England to reduce the Colonies "under absolute despotism," was unnecessary. England exercised what authority she wished, and it must be admitted that, as a rule, the Colonies were well pleased with royal government. It was not until the increasing tyranny of George III, the vexatious laws of his reign, and the failure of American petitions, that there was any real sentiment of independence. Indeed, the beginning of the real struggle with Great Britain was not for independence, but for obtaining a recognition of colonial rights. It was not until November, 1775, that there was any conscious and crystallized sentiment in favor



of the independence of the Thirteen Colonies. These are well known facts that are restated with greater emphasis and more abundant illustration by Dr Friedenwald in the first part of his book.

It is a little remarkable that when Lee's famous resolution for independence was introduced in the Congress there was not a single colony, with the exception of Virginia, that could vote a majority of its own delegates in favor of separation from Great Britain. This was in the summer of 1775. It is also remarkable that such men as John Dickinson and Robert Morris sternly opposed independence. Pennsylvania and South Carolina were, finally, the Colonies that most energetically opposed to independence; and Rutledge had to risk offending the sentiment of his colony in order to bring South Carolina into line with the other colonies in favor of independence. In the most recent, and by far the best history of South Carolina, that of Edward McCrady, it is asserted that there was nothing in the past relations between the home government and South Carolina to create a sentiment in favor of independence. South Carolina had, indeed, been a pet of the British government; and yet, when war actually came this State was perhaps the most heroic in its opposition to Great Britain, opposed the strength of the empire before other colonies dared to do so, won the first clear victory over British arms, and fought upon its soil more actions against British soldiers than any other State of the Union—some of these against armies levied in New York.

One of the most interesting features of the book is the bringing together of the two drafts of the Constitution—Jefferson's original, and the engrossed copy adopted by the Congress. These copies are placed opposite each other and afford an interesting study. Jefferson's paper was practically adopted without change, and deserved the encomium of Gladstone that it was the most brilliant thing ever struck at one blow from the brain of man.



The comparison of these two drafts suggests the question if Jefferson is not entitled to the credit of naming the United States. In Jefferson's copy he called the draft A Declaration by the Representatives of the United States of America. In the engrossed copy prepared for the Congress, the draft is called the unanimous Declaration of the thirteen united States of America. In other words, Jefferson, with the Virginia spirit of independence long in his mind, conceived of the United States of America as a nation, while the Congress still conceived of it as thirteen states of America united for the purpose of this Declaration of Independence.

This book will unquestionably become a standard authority on the subject, as it deserves to be, because it presents the history of the evolution of the sentiment of independence more accurately and more clearly than has ever been done before.

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COMPROMISES. By Agnes Repplier. P. 277, \$1.10 net. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co.

Miss Repplier has the art, possessed in common with Hazlitt, Montaigne, Lamb, and Addison, of saying nothing delightfully. Not that she has nothing to say, if we may be so paradoxical, but she seldom has anything that is worth while being said for its own sake. We read her charming essays purely as literary relish, and not as food. They stimulate, but they do not nourish; cheer, but not inebriate.

A glance at the titles of this collection of pleasing essays reveals at once both the lightness of subject and the lightness of touch with which they are handled. Such topics as the Luxuries of Conversation, the Gayety of Life, Marriage in Fiction, the Beggar's Pouch, French Love Songs, the Spinster, and Consecrated to Crime, suggest delightful moments of browsing, but do not appeal to a thoughtful



reader. Perhaps Miss Repplier would scorn the thoughtful reader, much as Lamb or Montaigne would have done. But whatever the sort of reader chances upon this book he will probably be too delighted with it to put it down. The essays are not real essays—they are not really Miss Repplier's thoughts—but delightful gossips about the thoughts of others, which Miss Repplier has gathered. She might have put as a motto to her book the famous sentiment—I have gathered a nosegay of other men's thoughts; only the thread that binds them is my own. Miss Repplier, however, does not use common thread in binding her nosegay, but the very choice and very exquisite flowers she has gleaned from the gardens of others she has bound together by humbler flowers from her own small but well tilled garden plot.

Perhaps no writer of this country, and perhaps no writer of recent years in England, unless it be Mr Lang, possesses in equal degree the power of quotation. Miss Repplier is such a skilful artificer at this sort of thing that she can really construct exquisite, intelligent, and delightful paragraphs that are perfect centos. For instance, in a moderately brief paragraph in her first essay, a paragraph by no means unique, she quotes Hazlitt, Montaigne, Dr Johnson, Coleridge, and Macaulay. In the previous paragraph she quotes Chesterfield and Sainte-Beuve, and in the following one she quotes De Quincey. A little later we have Stevenson, William the Fourth, Miss Austin, and a perfect army of others. This method has its charm, and perhaps the most popular writers and speakers have always been those who could skilfully use the thoughts of others, as nothing is more pleasing to hear or to read than apt quotation. It is very probable that Miss Repplier has quoted Dr Johnson to this effect somewhere in this *enchiridion*, where he says that classical quotation is the parole of literary men the world over, and perhaps also she found it inevitable to refer to



the Athenian who saved the walls of Athens by being able to quote a line from sad Electra's poet. Quotation has done wonders in the past, and Miss Repplier is certainly a master—or shall we say mistress?—of its beautiful and perfect use.

Even if Miss Repplier's essays were not justified, as they are, by the pleasure of reading them, it would be worth while to possess this book as a delightful collection of quotations.

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CAPTAINS OF THE WORLD. By Gwendolen Overton. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.50.

This is a story of those who labor and are heavy-laden, and the author has appropriately adopted as a motto the saying of Carlyle: "The leaders of industry, if industry is ever to be lead, are virtually the captains of the world."

Miss Overton, who has already given evidence of her ability in several other novels, reveals a remarkable appreciation of and sympathy with the labor movement. In spite of the fact that the field in which this story is laid, and the characters and incidents are of themselves rather uninteresting to the average reader, she has constructed a story that will be read from beginning to end by any one who takes up the book. Of course, we have the regulation characters of the heartless employer and the studious and progressive young laborer as his protagonist—have we not had these things for centuries?—but Miss Overton manages to place the real interest of her story a little outside of the shops, yet in close touch with them, and so retains her hold on the reader's interest.

The portion of the book devoted to the inevitable strike and the unionizing of the employer's laborers is particularly well handled. The entire scene is tragic in its deeper meaning and is really tragic in its results, as nearly all of these manifestations of the spirit of labor are tragic.



It is possible for even a thorough economist, master of the field in which the struggle of labor and capital has gone on for years, will find this book of interest and profit. To the average reader it can not fail to be vividly interesting, as it handles in a most remarkable and convincing way one of the most important and most distressing questions of the time.

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TRIXY. By Elizabeth Stuart Phelps. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co. \$1.50.

Mrs Phelps, in a prefatory note, says "this book is a story." She would have been more exact if she had said it is a sermon or a polemic or a lecture or a dissertation. A story, however, it is; and despite its frank polemic attitude, it is well worth reading for itself, as no one writes about dogs more interestingly and more convincingly than Mrs Phelps. Trixy, the little heroine, is a creation, and is almost entitled to a place in that limited gallery now occupied by such lovable creatures as Stickeen, greatest of all dog creations; Bob Son of Battle, Rab, and a few other choice spirits. Even as it is, Trixy appeals to us with almost human interest.

It would be absurd to treat the argument of the book seriously. Human lives are sacrificed to new experimentation in science, and humanity will not balk at the sacrifice of dogs and guinea pigs, if thereby there may be discovered new methods for checking the ravages of disease and of saving or prolonging human life.

There are two very weak points in the book. The vivisectionists do not, as Mrs Phelps seems to imply, go about selecting the pet dogs of crippled boys for experimentation in the laboratory. It is generally the case that they take the most outrageous and impossible curs for this purpose—pariah dogs, outcasts. It is probable, also, that the guinea pigs suffer as little under the scalpel as the pet birds and



animals that some ladies imprison for their selfish pleasures, or of the birds that have been robbed of life, frequently in the most painful way, in order that their wings may decorate Easter bonnets.

The other weak point is in making Dr Steel, the arch-villain of the book, fall a victim to the malady with which he was inoculating an innocent little guinea pig. This sort of poetic justice has long become obsolete, and no longer appeals to the artistic sense of even the "majority of readers." Possibly a large body of the majority of Mrs Phelps's readers will echo Dr Steel's retort to Miriam, the defender of vivisected animals, "You are more cruel to me than I was to that dog. You vivisect me."

It is difficult to make a book with a moral or a book that is a sermon good literature. It has been done before, and the average reader of Trixy may conclude that Mrs Phelps has succeeded in accomplishing this difficult task once more. A book about dogs written by one so thoroughly in sympathy with them, and by one who writes so delightfully about them, can not fail to be intensely interesting.

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AMERICAN SHORT-STORIES SELECTED AND EDITED, WITH AN INTRODUCTORY ESSAY ON THE SHORT-STORY. By Charles Sears Baldwin, A. M., Ph. D. Cloth; 333 pages, with Index; \$1.40 net. Longmans, Green, and Company, New York and London.

Mr Baldwin merits our gratitude for two specific benefactions in this book: the attribution of the invention of the short-story to Edgar Allan Poe, and the recognition of the short-story as the single distinctive product of American literature. A great many books have recently appeared dealing with the short-story, but most of them have been totally inadequate. As a rule, these books have taken up the short-story in almost prehistoric times, and have given us as examples of it such tales as Ruth, Sindbad the Sailor,



the Golden Ass of Apuleius, Cupid and Psyche, and even such a novel as *A Lear of the Steppes*, the illustrations merely serving to show that whoe'er is edified the authors are not. Mr Baldwin has taken the only sure stand on the definition of Poe, who, if he did not invent, produced the first perfect examples of the short-story.

The claim made by Mr Baldwin that the short-story is probably the only essentially American form in our literature may be challenged, but it can not be refuted. Our prose is a weak echo of Addison or Macaulay; our poetry a still weaker echo of British forms and British sentiment. What is truly American in it is not good, and what is good is not American. Whitman is American, but Whitman is immortal because of his grotesque and his terrible deformity, and not because of any distinct poetic achievement—"a full and flowing savage." America shares with France the high distinction of having evolved on its own soil and brought to perfection the glory of the short-story. It is only in this field, and rarely here, that American genius in literature can take rank with any of the best work done in the literary countries of Europe. Here alone we claim equality with the best fruits of the genius of Turgenev, Stevenson, Daudet, Mérimée, De Maupassant. In every other field American literature lags far behind.

Mr Baldwin supports this claim only too briefly in his introduction. This introduction, by the way, is unsatisfactory in a number of ways; but inasmuch as it recognizes the merit of Poe and the distinctive quality of the American short-story, it is gratifying to every lover of American literature.

Objection might be taken to the selection of the stories in this volume, were not criticism disarmed by the plea that the stories are not intended to be the best American short-stories, but are selected purely as typical instances showing the development of the American short-story from



Irving down to the present day. To most readers of the short-story, even the most omnivorous, it is probable that more than half of the fifteen stories in this selection will be unfamiliar. It is doubtful if half of them deserve to be read even as typical instances of this development. Only four of the fifteen stories—Rip Van Winkle, The Fall of the House of Ushur, What Was It?, and The Outcasts of Poker Flat—can indeed claim the first rank among American stories; and one of these, Rip Van Winkle, is not a short-story at all. It seems a great misfortune that Mr Baldwin could not have chosen fifteen (or even a less number) of short-stories that would have been distinctly a credit to American literature, excellent examples of the art of short-story telling regardless of the period of composition, which would, at the same time, have illustrated the growth of the short-story in this country. Perhaps this was impossible. It also seems a great misfortune that the proverbial fear of offending authors now living should have made it necessary to exclude some of the best work done by writers of short-stories in America. The author announces in an editorial note that "no selection has been made from any living American writer whose birth has occurred since December 31, 1850." This, of course, precludes the giving of any of Miss Wilkins's charming stories; otherwise the reader would find just grievance at the absence of *The Revolt of Mother*; but the rule laid down by the author does not justify him for excluding an example of the inimitable art of Henry James (born 1843) or of Mr Aldrich (born 1836), both well within the prescribed limitations. Certainly the reader would have been delighted to see either *Marjorie Daw* by Aldrich, or James's *The Lesson of the Master*. The absence of such stories as these leaves an ugly hiatus in any collection of American short-stories.

In sketching the development of the short-story Mr



Baldwin is perfectly justified in beginning with Irving. As he says, a new current sets in with Irving's stories. This current does not sweep one clear up to the high level of Poe and De Maupassant but it is still a current that sets definitely, if not very strongly, toward the short-story. The three other stories chosen to represent the tentative period, that is the period of formation previous to Poe, are not particularly well chosen. It seems to us that Rip Van Winkle would have been sufficient for this period, and that the transition from Irving to Poe could well have been bridged by one of Hawthorne's deadly moral tales. This would have shortened the book, but would have improved it.

It is natural that a little too strong a claim is made for American genius in the book dealing exclusively with American short-stories. With the exception of Poe, at his best, and possibly with the additional exception of Mr James at his best, no work has been done in this country in the short-story form that will compare with the best work of Turgenev, Mérimée, De Maupassant, Daudet, or Stevenson—and it is useless to pretend that it does. We have more good writers of the short-story, perhaps, than any other country today; but unfortunately they are not in the Turgenev and De Maupassant class. The short-story form has perfectly suited only two types of mind—the French and the American. Turgenev excelled in it because of his French tendencies; the English excel in it occasionally—the Lord knows how. It is quite probable that the very highest work to be achieved in the short-story will yet be done by American writers.

The bibliographical note, while excellent as a whole, might have been lengthened and enriched. Assuredly, no bibliography on the short-story can be complete or satisfactory without including Stevenson's *Gossip on Romance*, and James's *Art of Fiction* and comment on Daudet, Turgenev, and De Maupassant, in his *Partial Portraits*. Besant's *Art of Fiction* should also have a place in any list.



## PROGRESS OF THE MONTH

### **Great Republican Triumph**

The national election of November 8 proved a surprise to every one, Democrats and Republicans alike. Even the Republican campaign managers were amazed at the extent and completeness of their victory. Judge Parker proved to be weaker than Bryan in either of his campaigns, and even the confident belief of the Democrats and the apprehension felt by many Republicans as to Democratic gains in the Congress proved to be unfounded; and the Republicans have been as successful in the Congressional elections as they were in the national. Mr Roosevelt was elected by greater pluralities than any previous candidate received and will have one of the greatest majorities ever known in the Electoral College. He will probably have 343 electoral votes out of the total of 476. The returns indicate that the vote received for Mr Roosevelt is greater than that received by President McKinley in 1896, 6,502,925, which was then the largest ever given for a presidential candidate.

The Democrats seem to have succeeded in carrying only Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia—in other words the solid South with the exception of Missouri, which should naturally have been in the Democratic column. Even Maryland wavered a little, and gave at least one electoral vote for Mr Roosevelt. This is one of the most disastrous defeats ever suffered by a great national party.

In the House, where the Democrats thought they would make decided gains, it now appears that the Republican majority will be 118, instead of 31 as in the present House.



There were one or two surprises on the Republican side. One of these was the election of William L. Douglas as Governor of Massachusetts. In spite of the fact that Massachusetts gave Roosevelt a plurality of 86,000, Douglas, the Democratic candidate for governor, received a plurality of nearly 36,000. There are various explanations of this, one of them being that the Republican candidate, Bates, had given offense to the laboring classes by vetoing a bill forbidding the employment of women and children at night in factories. On the other hand, the Democrats claim that Douglas's election was due to his stand for reciprocity with Canada and for tariff revision.

Another surprise was in Missouri, which Roosevelt carried by 28,000; but Folk, the Democrat, made famous by his prosecution of boodlers, was elected Governor by more than 30,000. The Republicans triumphed so completely in the State, however, that they have a majority of 14 in the legislature and will elect a Republican Senator to succeed Cockrell—one of the ablest men that the Senate has had for years.

Another surprise was in Minnesota, which gave Roosevelt 125,000 majority, and yet elected a Democratic Governor, John A. Johnson, by about 10,000.

In Montana, which went for Roosevelt by 7000, a Democrat, Toole, was elected Governor; and, although Roosevelt carried Colorado by 15,000, the Democratic candidate for Governor, Adams, was elected. This last result seems to have been due to Peabody's attitude in the labor troubles in that State.

The campaign, one of the most apathetic in American history, was made sensational at the very close by charges against President Roosevelt made by Judge Parker and President Roosevelt's very spirited answer. In his answer to the charges, Mr Roosevelt said:



The statements made by Mr Parker are unqualifiedly and atrociously false. As Mr Cortelyou has said to me more than once during this campaign, if elected I shall go into the Presidency unhampered by any pledge, promise, or understanding of any kind, sort, or description, save my promise, made openly to the American people, that so far as in my power lies I shall see to it that every man has a square deal, no less and no more.

A remarkable feature of the election was Mr Roosevelt's announcement, made immediately after receiving assurance that he had been elected, that he would not again be a candidate for nomination. This declaration is as follows:

I am deeply sensible of the honor done me by the American people in thus expressing their confidence in what I have done and have tried to do. I appreciate to the full the solemn responsibility this confidence imposes upon me, and I shall do all that in my power lies not to forfeit it.

On the 4th of March next I shall have served three and one-half years, and this three and one-half years constitutes my first term. The wise custom which limits the President to two terms regards the substance and not the form; and under no circumstances will I be a candidate for or accept another nomination.

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**The Growth of  
Socialism**

A great deal of interest and some apprehension has been aroused by the tremendous increase of the Socialist vote in the recent national election. This vote, as far as the returns now show it, amounted to about 600,000. While this total is not startling, it is yet considerable and is to be reckoned with in view of the rapidity with which the Socialist vote has increased within the last few years. In 1900 the total vote for the Socialist Party was 97,730. It is remarkable that from this figure the vote should have risen to 600,000 in four years, an increase of 600 per cent.

These six hundred thousand votes, scattered over the country, do not make a very dangerous party, but it is a



strong basis upon which a dangerous party may be organized. If we take the pluralities by which the Democrats carried the twelve states won by them in the recent election, we shall find that the total of these pluralities is 611,000—leaving out the vote of Maryland which is still in doubt. This comparison will give some concrete idea of the size of the Socialist vote of the country.

Where the Socialist Party is making its greatest gains is in Illinois and New York. The vote in Illinois increased from about 10,000 in 1900 to 76,000 in 1904, or nearly 800 per cent. In New York it increased from about 13,000 to 50,000.

The Socialist vote would have been more effective if it had been united, but it is quite possible that in a few years there will be organized in this country a Socialist Party that will have to be reckoned with by the two great national organizations. Whether it will ever attain the strength of the Socialists in France, Germany, or Belgium is doubtful, as conditions in this country do not favor the spread of Socialist doctrine and Socialist organization.

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**The United States  
Call for a  
Peace Conference** It is now evident, as it seemed to be at the time, that President Roosevelt's call for another international peace conference was a little premature. It would have been far better to have intimated that this country, at the earliest appropriate moment, would issue invitations to its sister nations for another conference in the interest of international peace. Such half measures, however, are not in harmony with the thorough-going temper of President Roosevelt, and he decided, perhaps unfortunately, to issue a call at once. Another unfortunate feature of the invitation was that Secretary Hay should have compared the present international situation with that existing at the time of the recent conference at The Hague.



It was to be expected that all nations that would respond to such an invitation would applaud the purpose of it. This has been done in the most satisfactory way; but it was also to be expected that Russia and Japan, now engaged in a death grapple in the Far East, would wait for peace. It will be remembered that Great Britain, then at war with the South-African Republics, entered the previous conference at The Hague with the understanding that questions involved in the South-African war were not to be affected by the conference. While Russia and Japan could enter the conference called by President Roosevelt, with a similar proviso, yet the war in the Far East is of so much greater magnitude and involves so much more, that it would seem a mere travesty if either Russia or Japan should attend a peace conference at The Hague while trying to cut each other's throat. The war in Manchuria is, apparently, just beginning; and neither of the combatants could, with any grace or sincerity, take part in a peace conference.

Russia has not only made this plain to the United States, but has very adroitly turned Secretary Hay's comparison upon himself. The Secretary is reminded that the conditions are not at all comparable. When Russia sent out its invitations to the peace conference at The Hague, the war between Spain and the United States was not in progress, as Secretary Hay asserts; but it was over, and terms of peace were being considered. It was not a question as to which side would win, but as to what the victors would exact from the vanquished. In the present war, only the initial moves have been made. Even Port Arthur is still under the Russian flag and Russian ships are still afloat in the waters of the Far East. Kuropatkin has been driven back only as far as Mukden. It is evident that until Japan captures Port Arthur, sinks the Russian ships in Oriental waters, and pushes the Russian army as far back as Tie pass or Harbin; or until Russia drives the Japanese back to Korea; and terms



of peace have been offered and are being considered, the situation is as different from that existing when Russia called the famous Hague conference as can possibly be conceived. In the one case, we were at the end of a war, while Russia and Japan are at the beginning. It was decidedly unfortunate that Russia could make two such telling points against American diplomacy.

It may be several years before such a conference is possible or practicable. When it is held, the United States will still merit praise for having called it.

**Railways of the  
United States**

Last year was a period of great prosperity for the railways of the country. Nearly all of the roads have reported, according to the advance sheets of Poor's Manual for 1904, an increase in earning capacity and an increase in actual business. According to this authority, there are now in operation in the United States 206,876 miles of railway. Only 7,191 miles were built during 1903. The following table, taken from these advance sheets, shows the business done throughout the country:

Passengers carried .....	606,949,925
Passenger mileage .....	20,895,606,421
Tons freight moved .....	1,306,628,858
Freight mileage .....	171,292,198,079
Earnings—	
Passenger .....	\$429,705,287
Freight .....	1,344,150,719
Miscellaneous .....	135,001,820
Total .....	\$1,908,857,826
Net earnings .....	592,508,512
Other receipts .....	89,485,484
Total available revenue .....	\$681,993,996



## Payments—

Interest on bonds .....	\$239,426,707
Other interest .....	8,680,451
Dividends on stock .....	164,549,147
Miscellaneous .....	61,336,614
Rentals, interest .....	38,675,121
Dividends .....	26,125,268
Miscellaneous .....	21,320,600
<hr/>	
Total payments .....	\$560,113,908
Surplus .....	\$121,880,088

The earnings, as compared with 1902, show an increase of about ten per cent.; while there was a gain of about 1,000,000,000 in the number of passengers carried and a gain of 115,000,000 tons in freight.

It may be surprising to most readers to know that railway travel and railway freight are more costly now than they were in 1902. In 1902 the average rate per ton per mile for freight was 7.64, while in 1903 it was 7.85. In 1902 the average mile rate for passengers was 2.01, while in 1903 it had risen to 2.05. The most encouraging thing to the railways is that the net earnings per mile rose from \$2,830 in 1902 to \$8,696 in 1903.

**The Effort to Exclude the Japanese** It is likely that the present agitation looking to the exclusion of the Japanese from this country, as the Chinese are now excluded, may develop into a serious movement. If this is the case, it will be because of the demand made by labor, upon the plea that the Japanese will work for lower wages and injure home labor by close competition. The exclusion of a race that is the equal of ours in every respect would be entirely to our discredit as a people—no matter how necessary it may seem.

In this connection, it is interesting to read the views of one of the most distinguished of living Japanese, Baron



Kentaro Kaneko in the North-American Review on the 'yellow peril.' He says:

"Blessed are the meek" is one of the precepts of the Christian faith, "for they shall inherit the earth!" For many years the missionaries have taught this precept to the Asiatics; but it has never been practised by the so-called Christian Powers in their dealings with Oriental nations. Indeed, the direct contrary has been the fact; for, many a time during the past fifty years, it has been shown that a nation's surest step to its "disinheritance" of the earth is to be meek and to remain meek. That a cry should arise in the East demanding "Asia for the Asiatics" is thus a natural outcome of the policy which the Christian Powers have pursued in that part of the world. Only Japan, of all the Eastern nations, has thus far been able to maintain her independence against continual foreign aggression. If there is a peril in the East, it is not the "yellow peril," but the "white peril;" the former being a mere myth, while the latter is an actual reality.

Baron Kaneko is not the first to call attention to the absurd hypocrisy of the cry raised in Germany and in Russia of the 'yellow peril,' and he is not the first to show that the real peril, both as to Asia and as to ourselves, is a white peril. The white race is seeking to absorb Asia, and will finally do so, unless Japan can defeat Russia and assist in the building up of China into a first-class power. If Japan can do this, she will not only save her own empire and save the yellow race, but will save us from our own predatory nature. If the white race is balked in its purposes of militarism and plunder, it may be that the Christian virtues will flourish at home.

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**Arbitration Now the  
Fashion**

Premier Delcassé of France, probably the ablest statesman in the world today, has perhaps done as much as if not more than any other diplomat of this age in promoting the interests of international arbitration. It is largely due to his interest



and tact that treaties of arbitration have been signed between France and Holland, and France and England, and that a similar treaty is practically assured between France and the United States.

England long held aloof from arbitration conventions, as she has held aloof from every sort of agreement that might interfere with the full utilization of her preponderating sea power. Only recently the world has been shocked to see Great Britain refuse to punish Russia for gross outrages upon her neutral commerce in the Far East because of the apprehension that, in some future war, Great Britain might find herself circumscribed in predatory operations at sea by the conditions she might now force upon Russia. In other words, if England should punish Russia for interfering with British commerce on the high seas, she could not with justice, interfere with Russian commerce, or any other commerce, on the seas in any future war. England, therefore, prefers to preserve the inviolate sea as a field of operations for the pirate and buccaneer of the future, instead of establishing, as she could now do, an enlightened code of international law with regard to the freedom of neutral commerce. The time may come when German, French, or American privateers or swift cruisers may make Great Britain deeply repent her action in clinging to the feudal barbarism of naval warfare.

But, as Lord Lansdowne declared the other day, "arbitration is now the fashion;" and England is in the mood for making arbitration treaties with her neighbors. It is probable that a treaty between the United States and England, along the lines of the recent treaty between England and France, will soon be agreed upon and ratified by the two countries.

If Germany and Russia could be brought to join in this movement for arbitration now supported by France, the United States, and England, it would be more efficacious in



maintaining peace in the world than all the great armies and the great navies that have been created under this hypocritical plea.

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**The English and Russian Crisis**

Despite the fact that England seemed eager for war or for an immediate adjustment of the quarrel due to the Russian outrage on the fishing fleet, it now seems probable that nothing more will result from the Dogger Bank incident than a Russian apology, assurances of greater care in the future, and, possibly, the punishment of a few minor officers as scapegoats. Russia succeeded in tiding over what seemed to be an almost impossible situation, and avoided war with England while preserving an unexpectedly bold attitude. She has expressed regret for the accident and has agreed to the British demand for an inquiry.

The offer by England to submit the Dogger Bank incident to an investigation was received by the outside world as almost a back down, and it certainly was so accepted by Russia. It has made the Russian press more insulting and truculent. Russia is now of the opinion that England is afraid of her, and will avoid war if she can possibly save her face.

Russia gained another point by having England consent to limit the scope of the inquiry to the presence of torpedo boats and the justification of the firing by the Russian fleet. But the burden of proof is upon Russia. She will have to prove to The Hague Commission that there were hostile torpedo boats on the banks and that her sailors were justified in firing upon them. This seems very difficult, and it is probable that the Russian case will break down. Russia has made a very adroit attempt to show that it is quite possible to buy torpedo boats in England and smuggle them out of British waters. The possibility that this can be done, will not, however, in any wise help the Russian case, as Russia



will have to prove absolutely that her fleet was attacked, or threatened, by hostile torpedo boats in the channel. Russia's conduct in the entire affair has been evasive and suspicious. There seemed to be an effort on her part to get rid of all damaging witnesses and testimony.

It will be a severe blow to the prestige of England if the Russians are enabled to escape just punishment for this atrocity, and it is not at all likely that England in her present temper, will put up with half measures or acquiesce in an inadequate investigation.

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**The Russo-Japanese  
War**

The last month has been practically without incident, a period of recuperation following the great efforts of both armies in the ten days' fighting on the Sha river. This terrific struggle, in which perhaps the combatants put forth greater efforts to win victory than were ever endured on any previous field of battle, seems to have exhausted both the Russian and Japanese forces. In this fight the Russians lost more men and munitions of war than in any previous action, and found themselves, instead of attacking the Japanese, forced to defend themselves from annihilation. In the circumstances, it was impossible for Oyama's victory to be much more than an indecisive one, as all that he could be expected to do was to defeat the Russian attempt to get to his rear and relieve Port Arthur. This he succeeded in doing so effectually that he inflicted a terrible reverse upon Kuropatkin. Since the great battle the two armies, with their irregular lines extending for sixty miles, have confronted each other, in some places the distance between the outposts being only 400 yards. Each army has dug itself into the earth so effectually as to render even artillery fighting harmless. Each army has probably awaited the advance of the other.

There is now some indication that Oyama will soon resort to his favorite tactics of a turning movement, which will



probably be from the East, as most of the others have been. It is very likely that at least one more great battle will be fought in this campaign, and that the Japanese who have been strongly reenforced, will succeed in reaching Mukden, which will probably be their winter headquarters.

Russia seems to be making tremendous efforts at home to hasten reenforcements to the front; but it is not likely that she can maintain an army in Manchuria that can accomplish anything against the Japanese.

At Port Arthur there has been a continuous bombardment of the Russian forts, with numerous successes on the part of the Japanese. The besiegers are not, however, in a position to deliver a crushing blow. It will take, it is estimated, two or three weeks before they can undermine certain Russian fortresses, blow them up, and attain a position where they can deliver the final attack. In the best military opinion, the main fortress can not hold out longer than this year, although General Stoessel has told the Tsar that, if he is supplied with ammunition and provisions, he can hold the fort until the arrival of the Baltic squadron next March.

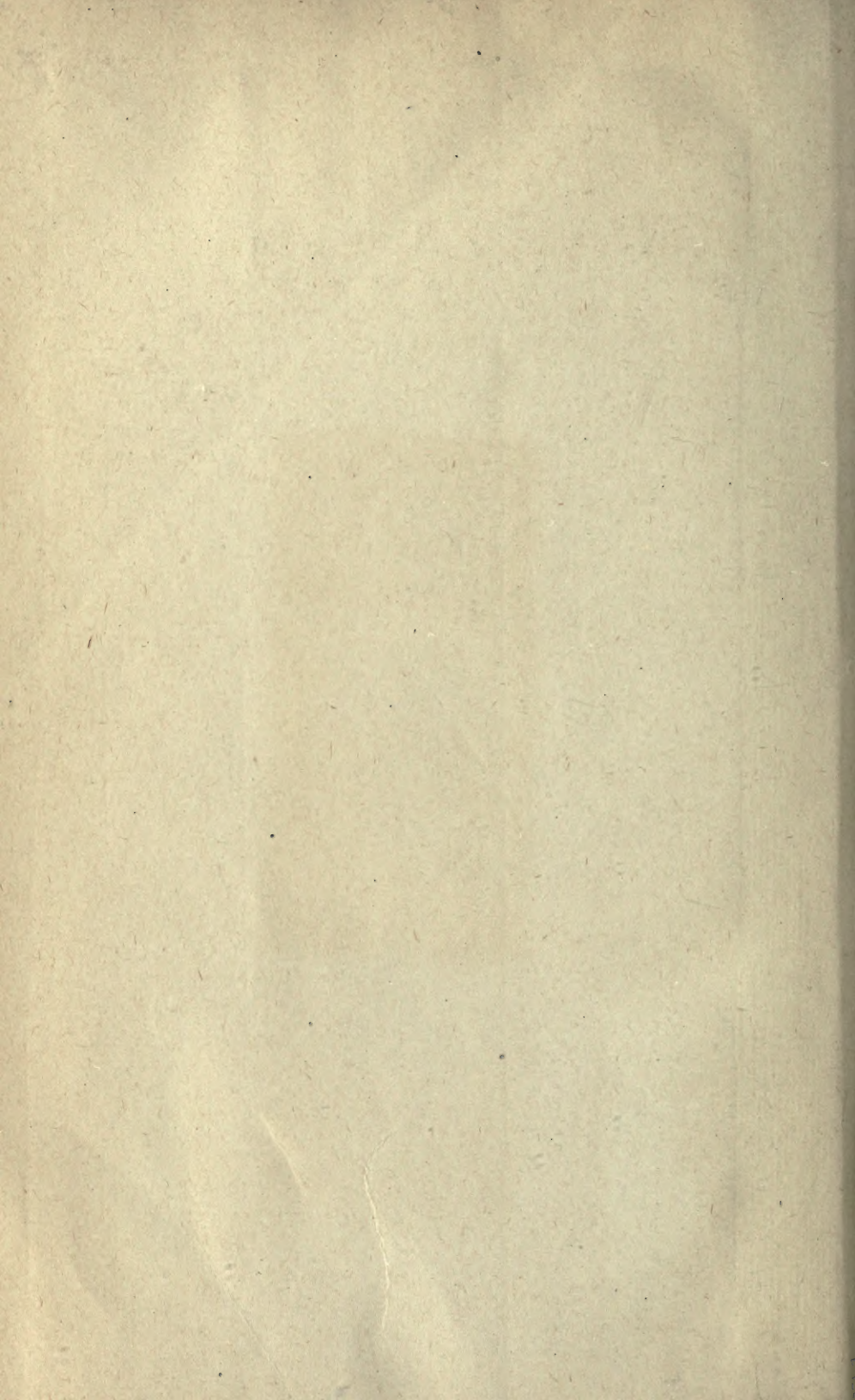
The Baltic squadron is now scattered from the Isthmus of Suez to Kronstadt. Some of the ships are being repaired at various ports, and the trip to the Far East seems to be as tedious as was anticipated. Japan is protesting vigorously against the friendliness of France in permitting the coaling of Russian warships in French ports. In the meanwhile, following the vigorous action of England over the Russian outrage on the fishing boats, the Russian ships seem to have avoided interference with neutral commerce.

There is every indication that the war is merely in its initial stages and that it will drag on for years, unless there is intervention by the powers of Europe and America.











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